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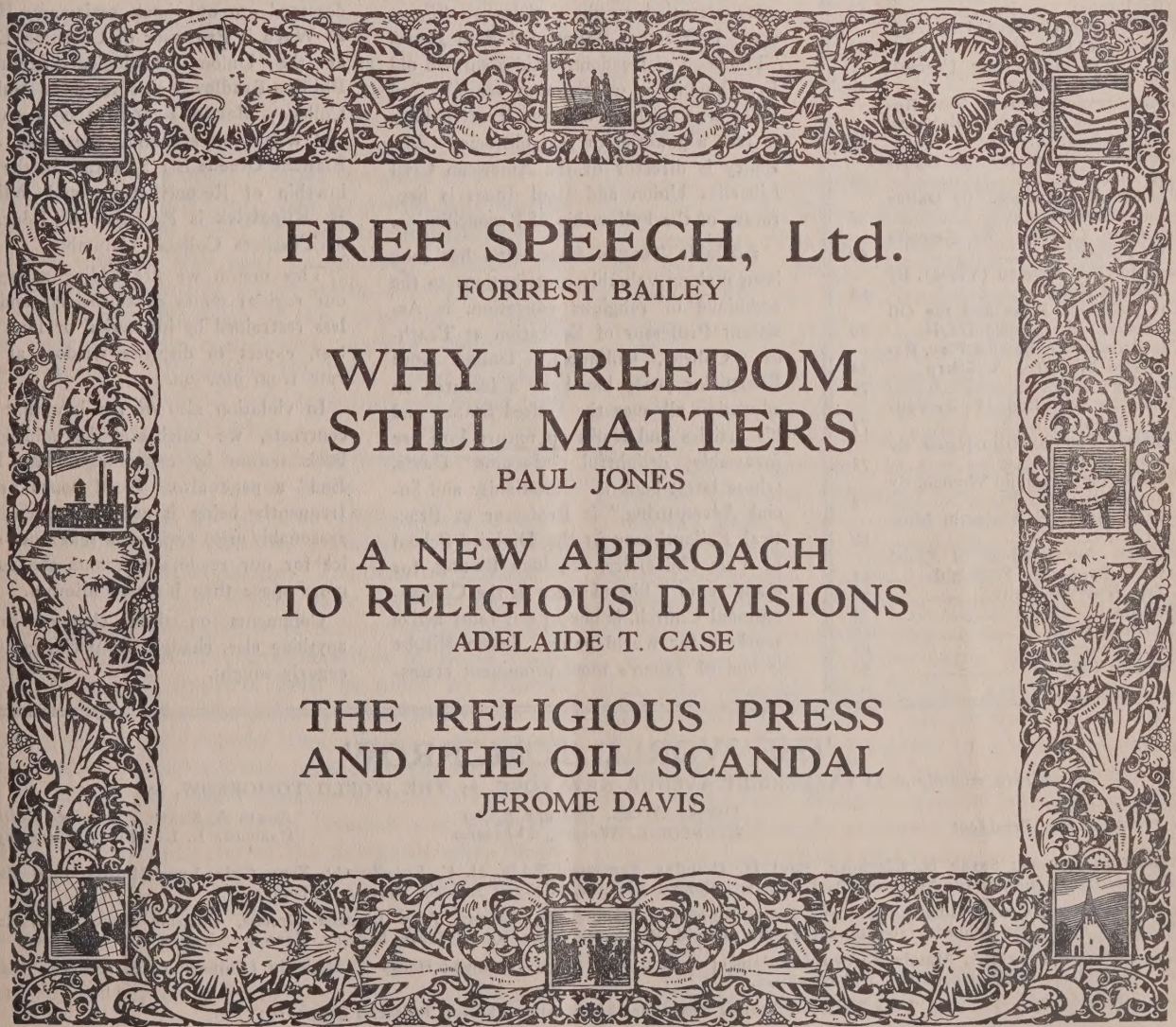

FREE SPEECH, Ltd.
FORREST BAILEY

WHY FREEDOM STILL MATTERS
PAUL JONES

A NEW APPROACH TO RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS
ADELAIDE T. CASE

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS AND THE OIL SCANDAL
JEROME DAVIS

THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.
52 VANDERBILT AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

The
World Tomorrow

Vol. XI February, 1928 No. 2

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CONTENTS

PAGE

Cover Design.
By Byron H. Jackson, Jr.
Editorials — 51
Free Speech, Ltd. By Forrest Bailey — 55
Sic Semper Dissenters (Verse). By Clarence Day, Jr. — 57
Why Freedom Still Matters. By Paul Jones — 58
The Common Graveyard (Verse). By Chang Pin — 60
The Lot of the Farmer (Verse). By Nieh I. Chung — 60
Interconfessionalism: A New Approach to Religious Divisions. By Adelaide T. Case — 61
Not in the Headlines. By Agnes A. Sharp — 64
The Schools Advance. By Dallas Lore Sharp — 65
Sepulchre (Verse). By Kenneth W. Porter — 69
Song for Lost Seamen (Verse). By Sterling North — 69
The Religious Press and the Oil Scandal. By Jerome Davis — 70
The Prisoner: A Pacifist Play. Reviewed by Agnes A. Sharp — 74
Clippings — 75
When the War Ended! By Sydney Strong — 77
Food and Population in Japan. By Inazo Nitobe — 78
Fighting the Traffic in Women. By Frank Owen — 79
S-4 (Verse). By Benjamin Musser — 80
Mexican Ambassadors of Good Will. By Louise F. Shields — 81
A Step Toward Unity — 82
Findings — 83
The Book End — 84
Correspondence — 91
The Last Page — 94

The Point of View

WHILE making a natural reservation about the editors, we desire to vary not only our own practice but the custom of magazines in general and assure our readers that the writers in our pages this month are not—necessarily—the best in the universe and that they are not infallible.

In the direction of understatement, however, that is as far as we are willing to go. In view of all the vile things that editors do to writers, it is only fair to compensate in any manner not in violation of conscience. And our consciences—such as they are—do not writhe when we invite your attention to the articles on "Freedom" by **Forrest Bailey** and **Paul Jones**. "The boon of freedom," said a shrewd old Frenchman, "is worth many scars." And those who wish to exercise it often have to face a gauntlet of real obstacles. Mr. Bailey is director of the American Civil Liberties Union and Paul Jones is Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Adelaide Teague Case, who has long been making valuable contributions to the technique of religious education, is Assistant Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia. **Dallas Lore Sharp** for years has been a lecturer on education all over the United States, and his articles and books on nature lore are invariably delightful. **Jerome Davis**, whose latest book is "Christianity and Social Adventuring," is Professor of Practical Philanthropy in the Divinity School of Yale University. **Sydney Strong**, for many years a liberal force in the Congregational Church, is one of our most active workers for world peace. **Inazo Nitobe** is one of Japan's most prominent statesmen. **Frank Owen** is an English newspaper man. **Louise F. Shields** is a writer on Mexican-United States relations.

Stella Fisher Burgess, long a resident of China, is a contributor of verse to various periodicals. **Kenneth W. Porter** is engaged in research in the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration; his verse has appeared in many magazines. **Sterling North**, who recently won a prize for undergraduate poetry, is connected with the University of Chicago. **Benjamin Musser** is one of the editors of Contemporary Verse.

Coming—neither down nor up, you understand—to our book reviewers, **Harry F. Ward** is Professor of Christian Ethics at the Union Theological Seminary; **Phillips Bradley** is a professor at Amherst College; **Martin Beardslee** is a student and writer on economic questions; **Amy Blanche Greene** is a Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; and **William H. Kilpatrick** is Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia.

This month we are adding a page to our regular quota of editorials; and unless restrained by injunction or loud protest, expect to dispense wisdom at that rate from now on.

In violation also of the law that cold contracts, we celebrate the mid-winter book season by expanding "The Book End" a page also. Good books are so frequently being issued that even with reasonably crisp reviews, a real scout service for our readers warrants the use of more space than hitherto allowed.

Comments on these changes—or on anything else, changed or unchanged—are eagerly sought.

THE WORLD TOMORROW

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The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XI. February, 1928 No. 2

Editorials

Political Aviation at Havana

We go to press in the early days of the Havana conference of the Pan-American Union still hopeful that something of real value may come from it. There have been few gatherings in this hemisphere with more vital issues or more opportunities for good or ill.

In its later sessions there may be profoundly worthwhile developments. But the net accomplishment of the early sessions was next to nothing. Under the leadership of Argentina, secret sessions were barred—with reservations by some of the countries. "Unwelcome" issues can be considered, however, only by a two-thirds vote. President Coolidge made a speech that won the usual diplomatic applause, but which well merited the characterization, "ace of political aviation," given him by the London *Evening Standard,* because "he never got down to earth."

The applause and the general celebration may have been genuine or diplomatic or a mixture of both; but in any case it is unconvincing. Leaders of groups in Haiti and Nicaragua which have been critical of United States imperialism were refused admission into Cuba, while the official representatives of those countries were merely puppets held in office by United States marines. For weeks before the conference the Cuban government labored manfully to suppress all voices critical of the colossus of the north, and President Machado, virtually a dictator of what is virtually a vassal state, in the middle of December ordered the press to print nothing any of the delegates were likely not to relish, citing as examples our relations with Mexico, Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua.

Cultural intercourse, trade, international health measures, all these are natural and not unprofitable matters of discussion. But they are not the vital matters. What the people of Latin America want to know is precisely this: does the United States conceive of the Latin-American nations as sovereign, equal with the U. S. A. before the bar of international law and the court of public opinion; or does the United States consider that it can be a law unto itself, exercising a guardianship and claiming special privilege, such as the right of armed intervention whenever and wherever it chooses?

Such questions as these the United States wished to leave undiscussed. To that end Dr. Gavry Rivas, an inspector of Nicaraguan consulates, had been going about among the Latin-American governments, assuring them that Nicaragua did not want the subject of our intervention brought up. And most of the delegations at Havana were headed by diplomats of the various countries stationed at Washington, subject to recall if they fell into our official disfavor.

If the conference results in a *bona fide* code of international law (as hoped for by those who have both peace and justice at heart) which denies the right of one nation to intervene in the affairs of another, a great forward step will have been taken.

Unless such a policy is conceded by the United States, it is maudlin hypocrisy, too thin for anybody not to see through, for the President to say that "We are thoroughly committed to the principle that they are better fitted to govern themselves than anyone else is to govern them. . . . It is better for them to make their own mistakes than to have someone else make their mistakes for them." This in the face, for example, of our refusal not merely to grant independence to the Filipinos but even to let them vote on the question; this in view of our continued invasion of Haiti; this in the light of the stubborn slaughter in Nicaragua by our bombing planes and marines.

Mr. Coolidge possesses no less talent than many another "official spokesman" for the utterance of beautiful platitudes, while our actions speak even more loudly in the platitudes of imperialistic ugliness.

If the Havana conference yet redeems our repute in the eyes of the world, no one can say the days of miracles are past. We hope that they are not. But they are to be purchased in this direction only at the cost of continued, sincere fair-play and national unselfishness.

At Good Old Yale

The elms are still a-tremble; the Green, rocked as by an earthquake, will never be the same. At least, in the imaginations of many bond salesmen—wholesale and retail—among the Yale Alumni, reported to be stirred to wrath over the "meddling" of 19 Yale undergraduates with New Haven neckwear sweatshops. If college boys—they are always boys when they "get into trouble" and men when upholding civilization—are going to pry into industrial conditions, why not confine such efforts to books and far-off places instead of distributing printed matter telling unpleasant facts about local labor conditions? In any case, they ought to be either on the side of the employers or maintain a gentlemanly silence. But 19 didn't think so, to their everlasting credit.

Presto Change!

Just like that! In a flash! The change in sentiment between Mexico and the United States during recent months is not only spectacular but almost miraculous. How account for this momentous transformation of public attitudes? Three things happened. A new type of Ambassador arrived in Mexico City. The Mexican High Court rendered a decision. The Lone Eagle flew swiftly into the hearts of the Mexican people, heralded by the inimitable Will Rogers with his wise cracks.

But nothing has really happened, insists your Economic Determinist. The underlying issues in the oil controversy were not finally settled by the recent Court decision. It still remains to be seen whether the American or Mexican point of view will ultimately prevail. And if the former is upheld, whether the Mexican people will acquiesce. True enough, Mr. Morrow had a famous ham-and-egg breakfast with President Calles, but have we any reason to believe that the leopard has changed his spots? Once a banker, always a banker. As for Lindbergh, what contribution has he made in curbing the greed of American monopolists? Is he not merely being capitalized by shrewd financiers and politicians?

There is truth in this contention. But the total situation has changed drastically, even though the economic aspects remain essentially as before. The emotional factor has been revolutionized. And in the long run emotions are determinative. Feelings are much more powerful than logic. Fear and hatred have caused as many modern wars as greed.

Economic rivalry persists. Dangerous financial and political problems remain unsolved. But it makes all the difference whether these questions are approached in a mood of suspicion and hostility or in a spirit of sympathy and friendliness.

If Hearst and his "sewer system of American journalism", with numerous allies on both sides of the border, continue before the public mind, the oil and land controversy may lead to war. On the other hand, even the most serious disputes may be adjusted amicably if the respective peoples have the will to peace. And so we maintain that Morrow and Lindbergh have made an incalculable contribution to the cause of international friendship and coöperation. May their labors not be undone by a stubborn persistence, elsewhere in Latin America, in interventionist policies! And may their tribe increase!

The League Begins to Make Amends

Poland and Lithuania, long in a state of conflict and constantly endangering all Europe, have ended war and pledged themselves to a peaceful settlement through direct negotiations and under a commission to be established by the League. To the League process should go the credit.

But only the rosiest optimists and those who have no regard for justice could possibly consider the problem solved. Vilna, beyond question a Lithuanian city by centuries of tradition and culture, is still held by the Poles, as it has been ever since the Polish General Zeligovski seized it in 1920. The situation in recent years has been largely due to the League's refusal to make Poland restore Vilna to Lithuania, into whose possession the League rightly gave it by the Suwalki Treaty seven years ago.

If, however, the League pressure now results in the restoration so long delayed and Poland can be restrained from another coup, justice will be done and one of the Continent's worst centers of war pestilence will be sterilized.

A New Approach to the War Debts

Mr. S. O. Levinson, a Chicago attorney and founder of the movement for the outlawry of war, has recently issued an important proposal concerning German reparations and inter-allied debts. His plan calls for a world loan to Germany of six billion dollars, secured by all national assets and revenues of Germany, to be paid off in twenty-eight annual installments. Of the total amount thus secured, the United States would receive four billion two hundred million dollars, in complete payment of all allied debts. The remaining billion and a half dollars would be used for stabilizing currencies, the costs of the loan, etc.

This plan has the merit of considering jointly reparation and inter-allied debts. In the end these two aspects of the one problem must be settled together. This proposal is also commendable in that it fixes the amount Germany is to pay and limits the years of payment to twenty-eight. The plan recognizes the necessity of lending Germany the money with which to continue payments. The proviso that the nations

involved shall enter into a treaty outlawing war for sixty-two years is wholly desirable.

The plan will meet with opposition from those persons who maintain that Germany was not uniquely responsible for starting the World War and is not therefore under moral obligation to pay any reparations whatever, and from those Allies who assume that Germany was solely guilty and should make reparations and who point out that under this proposal the United States will get practically all the cash, leaving the Allies to pay their own bills for restoring the devastated areas.

If Germany was not alone guilty, why should she pay at all? If Germany was primarily responsible, where is the justice in turning all her payments over to the United States? We will do well to ponder these questions.

Massachusetts, There She Budges

One of the reasons why Sacco and Vanzetti were legally lynched, apart from numerous others, was because the State of Massachusetts, officially, had to save its face. It had to uphold that curious quirk in Massachusetts law by which Judge Webster Thayer was able to sit in judgment on his own fair-mindedness. But the Massachusetts Judicial Council, in its annual report, to which Governor Fuller has given his endorsement, recommends in part that the law should be so changed that "in a capital case the entry in the Supreme Judicial Court shall transfer to that court the whole case for its consideration of the law and the evidence, and the court may order a new trial if satisfied that the verdict was against the law or the weight of the evidence, or for any other reason that justice may require."

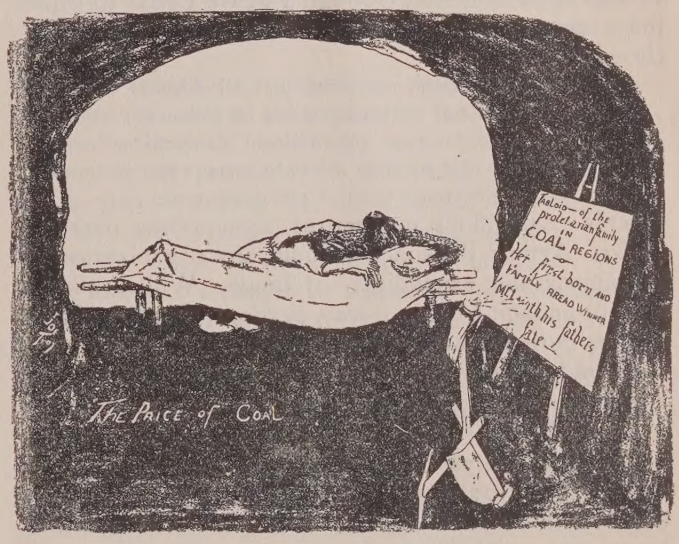
We are not able to agree with some of our contemporaries who think that had this provision been law in Massachusetts last summer, Sacco and Vanzetti would never have been killed; though it is possible, of course, that the Supreme Court might have succeeded in freeing itself from the pious savagery that ruled that Commonwealth in August. The move, however, is in the direction of justice, and should be welcomed even though tragically belated.

Labor's Dividends

Under this arresting headline *The New Leader,* the socialist weekly in New York, prints regularly the casualties suffered by wage-earners in the pursuits of everyday labor—a great deal of which is perpetually fraught with physical danger.

Recoiling from the horrible disaster off Provincetown, made doubly hideous because of the stupidity manifested by humanity in allowing submarines to exist at all, one's mind reverts to these labor disasters. But miners fighting for life against the gradual approach of suffocation, deep in the blackness underground, do not receive pages on pages in the press. At the very time when the forty unfortunates of the S-4 were dead beyond the most desperate hope, and the papers were still running columns on the story daily, the bodies of four miners were being removed from lethal caverns at Marion, Illinois, and a struggle on to save three still thought to be alive. The miners got a grudging inch or two. Not so many of them—in this instance—and a bit less dramatic in stark tragedy. But every year in this country some 2,300 coal miners are killed on the job. Since 1869 there have been 22 major coal-mine disasters. Not to mention other labor losses.

You recall the S-51; but do you know anything about the catastrophes at Benwood, West Virginia, and Castle Gate, Utah, in which 119 and 171 were killed, respectively, many after long-drawn-out agony?


Adieu—of the proletarian family IN COAL REGIONS
Her first born and Wife's BREAD WINNER
Met with his Father's fate
The Price of Coal

—From the *Industrial Worker,*

The men in the submarines bravely face danger to learn how they may help to kill other men. The miners merely run their risks to turn the wheels of your industries and warm the radiators in your homes.

Taking Up the White Man's Burden

And so the pacifier of Nicaragua goes to Manila. We congratulate Colonel Stimson upon the public spirit which prompted him to accept so difficult a mission. He has our best wishes and is likely to be in need of sympathy before many months. If he satisfies Washington, he is sure to be unpopular in the Island, as there is an irreconcilable difference between the policy of the present Administration and the desire of the Filipinos for complete independence.

We have long maintained that the chief barrier to Filipino independence is the widespread conviction in this country that we are now governing these people better than they could do it. At least that is the reason

the American people give to themselves. Perhaps they are self-deceived. It may be that rubber and naval bases are the real reasons for prolonging American rule. But human beings usually cover self-interest with a cloak of idealism. It is so much more satisfying to seek personal gain when one is convinced that thereby mankind is being blessed.

We repeat what we have said many times, that self-government is preferable to externally imposed good government. We hope that the new Governor-General will throw the weight of his influence on the side of progressive self-government leading to complete independence for the Filipinos at an early date.

Just Count Us Out

Out, that is, when you next go into war. Thus have spoken no fewer than 128,770 citizens of Great Britain to the Prime Minister, through a Peace Letter to which their names had been signed, and which boldly declared:

> We, the undersigned, convinced that all disputes between nations are capable of settlement either by diplomatic negotiation or by some form of International Arbitration, hereby solemnly declare that we shall refuse to support or render war service to any government which resorts to arms.

This tremendous number of signers was obtained by Mr. Arthur Ponsonby without any organization or any appreciable expenditure of funds. While 128,770 are not enough to stop a war, perhaps, this Peace Letter has most certainly dispelled the argument that you can't induce any considerable number of people to adopt an attitude of war resistance or conscientious objection. While some of these signers would probably weaken under pressure, they knew what such a position meant for them; nobody could listen to Mr. Ponsonby and not know that. He has done pioneering work of moral and social significance.

Premier Baldwin, in replying, made the decidedly interesting comment that if the British army and navy ceased to exist, the League of Nations and the Locarno treaties would collapse. This is good old-fashioned militaristic doctrine; but the rapid spread of extreme war resistance in England is dealing that doctrine some powerfully heretical licks in the solar plexus.

The House of Morgan

Friends of the Morgan family who recently shed tears over the loss of a valued member of the household when Dwight Morrow went to Mexico, may now cheer up. The head of the firm, J. P. (himself), succeeds Judge Gary as Chairman of the Board of the United States Steel Corporation. What could be more natural and appropriate? The head of the proverbial banking concern also the head of the greatest industrial corporation: this is as should be. Increasingly, finance controls industry.

What will the end be? A new feudalism? Or the reverse: steps toward socialized control of both finance and industry?

We Prepare to Lick the Universe

In our issue of last September we warned our readers that as a result of the failure of the naval limitation conference at Geneva "a renewed campaign in Congress for huge fleets of cruisers and tremendous preparedness in all branches may confidently be expected. . . . And unless a thorough, determined, competent opposition, well planned in advance, is let loose upon Washington, an armament race will be on which quite literally will make all previous naval competition seem like child's play."

It is hardly necessary, we trust, to state that this admonition has now been justified by events. The Coolidge Administration, having shared responsibility with Great Britain for the breakdown of the efforts at limitation, has proposed a naval program so staggering in dimensions that even the big-navy men in Congress drew sharp breaths and set to work to tone it down. As the project now stands, it calls for the piffling little outlay of $725,000,000 or so in the next five years for the construction of 25 cruisers, 9 destroyer leaders, 32 submarines, and 5 airplane carriers. Secretary Wilbur and the Naval General Board desire, beyond this little starter, an elaborate twenty-year program to be followed by another for a couple of decades more. In short, a program of huge armaments for the next half century.

The reasons assigned as necessary for this challenge to other countries, and to Great Britain in particular, can hardly fail to impress any impartial observer as a mixture of nonsensical inconsistency. "By making our fleet supreme we will preserve peace;" when it is obvious that no nation in history with tremendous armaments has ever escaped having to use them. "Such a program is in no sense competitive but merely adapted to our needs;" when any sane person knows that Great Britain, Japan, and other countries simply will not let us—any more than our navalists would let them—dominate the seas. The proposal has convinced the world that our government is ruled by militaristic madness and merely a bit more skillful than most in the application of high-sounding explanatory phrases. But angelic lingo cannot disguise the fact that if we embark upon such a sugar-coated armament race, we are truly heaven-bent for hell.

We hope that every person who reads these words will stew in discomfort until he has either written or wired his representatives in Congress and the President, demanding the expenditure of money for the upbuilding of peace instead of these monstrous enemies of mankind.

Free Speech, Ltd.

FORREST BAILEY

FREEDOM is something of a catchword that has different meanings for different people and under different circumstances. Everybody wants more of it than he has according to his own definition. It is because of differences in definition and because of the fact that the freedom people are jealous about is usually only their own that difficulties arise. The founders of American liberty set up certain guaranties in the federal constitution and in the bills of rights in the various states, but they refrained from leaving us a body of frozen law to interpret what they meant. The substantive reality would lose its vitality and would cease to be socially applicable if we were to rely on a revered verbal formula to express it.

Fundamental liberties, like those of free speech, free press and the right of assemblage, become specially valuable when some authority attempts to deny them, for that happens only when somebody uses them in the way that they were meant to be used. Liberties do not exist when they are merely exalted as an abstract ideal.

The true libertarian, uniformly and without exceptions, is primarily concerned about free speech for somebody else—for anybody else, and that is about all he himself has to say. He will tell you that the important thing is that the man with an idea, or even the man who only thinks he has an idea, ought to have opportunity to utter it, just in case it should turn out to be worth hearing. And he will say of the man who might be a listener that he ought to be allowed to decide for himself whether he will be a listener or not. It is perfectly obvious that the worth of the utterance cannot be tested and judged if the utterance does not take place, and that the possible listener is denied his choice if some outside authority steps in and decrees that there shall be nothing to hear. Whatever the courts have done to modify this libertarian conception of free speech, whatever impairment it may have suffered under the processes of social change, something of this sort has to be postulated the moment you agree to accept the democratic system as a working basis of society.

Something of this sort was certainly in the minds of our revolutionary forefathers, and the proof of that is that they were revolutionists. They had been long schooled in the experience of holding meetings to voice their grievances against the king's government. The things that were said at those meetings were highly objectionable from the point of view of the established order. Those men were not conformists. They did not indulge in platitudes and polite acquiescences. They were groping their way toward a new order by criticising the shortcomings of the old. When the great new experiment emerged, they were attentive to the need of preserving the process by which it had come about. This was not an easy problem, since it was not to be solved by the simple device of stepping out from under the tyranny of a king. A new potential tyranny was created in the rule of Demos. The right to criticise the new master by the spoken word and in print had to be guaranteed, to the end that orderly progress by trial and error might go on. It is necessary to remember this aspect of our ancient liberties, if we are to appreciate them justly and keep them in working order.

THE tyranny of majorities works like any other tyranny. On an assumption of infallibility, the majority that holds a given opinion or supports a given system is no respecter of dissenting minorities. It tends always toward the enforcement of conformity. The harsher its measures to that end, the more damaging is the effect on the liberties of minorities. It follows that the struggle to maintain our liberties is a struggle against preponderant power. In society at large or in smaller groups it is a struggle for dissent and the new idea for the new or different state of things, as against ancient conformities and the status quo.

It is well that the founders refrained from defining all the terms of their guaranties. Consider what would have happened, for example, if they had undertaken to freeze into law the conception of religious freedom current at that time. The preponderant opinion of the day was that religion meant Christianity and that there was no respectable Christianity but Protestantism. Jews and Catholics alike had a pretty hard time of it. Even the gentle Quakers in some states were an outlaw sect, whom rightminded folk were bound to hold in contempt and make as uncomfortable as possible. If that temporary preponderance of opinion backed by power had been perpetuated, there is no doubt that Tennessee and Mississippi would have been relieved of the necessity of passing statutes to vindicate the scientific accuracy of the Book of Genesis. Perhaps the state of mind which existed in those states a year or two ago would have been the American state of mind.

As it is, thanks to rather noisy discussion and a highly amusing court trial, a marked change in public opinion has made the anti-evolution statutes practically dead letters. It is interesting to note how this has come about. It will be remembered that when the Tennessee Supreme Court reversed the conviction of

John Thomas Scopes on a technicality, one of the three learned judges who wrote the opinion upheld the contention of the defense attorneys that the law was unconstitutional for vagueness, while the other two, denying that contention, gave two differing opinions of the meaning of the law and the meaning of evolution. One of the learned judges proved to his own satisfaction, despite the literalist position taken in the first trial by Mr. Bryan and other counsel for the prosecution, that what the legislature really meant to do was to prohibit the teaching of "materialism"; he defined "materialism" in such a way as to make it obvious, at least to the judicial mind, that the legislature had not only the right but the duty to establish this prohibition.

Since that time it has been quite safe to teach biology in Tennessee, provided no subtle allegation is made that the monkey cages in Ringling Brothers' Greatest Show on Earth contain somebody's actual blood relatives—cousins, for example, only once or twice removed. All that the teacher needs to do is to inculcate biological science as it is understood by scientists instead of teaching what the popular mind understands by evolution. Thus the popular definition of evolution is undisturbed and the business of education goes on as usual. All of which goes to prove that definitions are largely a matter of local option and not to be decreed by constitutional conventions.

THE menace of religious bigotry and intolerance to liberty is frequently serious enough even in our day, but the time has passed when men will shed other men's blood, at least in large quantities and in a thoroughly organized way, for the sake of a religious conviction.

Perhaps that is because there are things in the modern world that have a greater power than religion to stir men's minds, excite their passions and win their uncompromising devotion. For example, there is the desire for wealth and for the comforts of irresponsible leisure. On the other hand, there is the desire of great masses of men for merely decent conditions of living —for a living wage, a briefer working day, clean and safe places to work in, and comfortable homes in which to bring up families. When these things are denied and the demand for them results in an industrial struggle on class lines, we have a situation in which all the fundamental liberties are likely to be abrogated for the period of the conflict. For when a serious strike occurs, the strikers are always alone against the field. Organized society is not concerned as a rule about the demands of workers, and it dislikes to have its peace disturbed and its necessary commodities made difficult of access. Consequently, it lends its moral support and its elaborate machinery of police and courts and militia, if need be, for the suppression of what it sees as a disorderly condition merely.

What all this means for the ancient liberties appears clearly in what has been going on in connection with the coal strikes in Colorado and Western Pennsylvania. The first thing they did in Colorado was to throw into jail as many of the strike leaders as they could nab. The police of the coal companies and the regular police cooperated in this enterprise and worked without the formality of serving warrants or laying charges. The arrested men were often held incommunicado. As soon as legal defense began to be provided, the police kept their victims out of reach of the writ of habeas corpus as long as they could by the simple device of hustling them rapidly from one county jail to another. Meetings of the miners were broken up and their halls were raided and dismantled. At Walsenburg business men and substantial citizens joined in wrecking a hall while the police looked on and occasionally lent a hand. At one time there were as many as two hundred picketers in jail, for it is always open season for picketers under the law of Colorado.

After the shooting down of a number of unarmed miners by state police at the Columbine mine on November 21st, a way was found to set up a military control without actually declaring martial law. This was done, under a loaded statute of 1921 and a court ruling of 1905, on the pretext that a state of insurrection existed. Two counties are at present (the end of December) designated as military districts, and of course in these districts the writ of habeas corpus does not operate. Even men who are arrested in other parts of the state can be shipped into these counties and placed thereby beyond the protection of the law of the courts.

The most significant thing that has happened in Western Pennsylvania, apart from the brutality of the police, the breaking up of lawful meetings of strikers and the restrictions on free speech, is the employment of the injunctive process in behalf of the operating companies. The Schoonmaker injunction, issued to the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corporation, makes effective picketing impossible. It prohibits the United Mine Workers from expending moneys to keep families in company houses by paying their rent, when ejectment proceedings are started against them. The Langham injunction, issued to the Clearfield Bituminous Coal Corporation, is similar but harsher in its restrictions. In both cases this judge-made law is based on the theory that to give support to a coal strike is to enter into a conspiracy in restraint of trade. The anti-trade-monopoly provisions of the Clayton and Sherman Acts are thus converted by the sophistry of judges into a weapon to use against workers.

WHAT happens in a large and picturesque way in industrial conflicts—the treatment of the dissident and the remonstrator as if they were outlaws—happens less conspicuously and in a great variety of situations all the time. To be an enemy of war and an op-

ponent of the maintenance of costly armaments is to win the suspicious enmity of the militarists and a certain type of patriot. Men and women are frequently denied the right to address audiences in colleges and elsewhere for no other reason than that they have been blacklisted for their pacifist views; but braided admirals and bemedaled colonels are always welcome platform speakers wherever they go. It is extremely dangerous for teachers to hold unconventional social views or to discuss critically subjects connected with our political institutions. Two able men in a Pennsylvania Normal School lost their positions last spring because they incurred the dislike of a local post of the American Legion by sponsoring criticism of the present administration's Nicaraguan policy—so-called. A meeting arranged for the purpose of raising funds for the defense of two Italians who were being prosecuted on a trumped-up charge of murder was forbidden by the Mayor of a small industrial city because it was assumed that speakers would criticise the administration of justice. In general Chiefs of Police are very nervous about public meetings, especially when they are to be addressed by men who have developed heresies concerning the ownership of wealth or the control of its sources.

A thorough-going radical heresy may even prove to be sufficient ground, as a certain recent tragic event has shown, for sending aliens to the electric chair without their having a fair opportunity to prove their innocence of the crime charged against them. Monstrous absurdities are perpetrated in the name of patriotism. A small boy was taken from the custody of his parents because their religious tenets forbade him to salute the flag. A young man was arrested in New York and fined by a jocular magistrate because he failed to take off his hat while the Star Spangled Banner was being sung in honor of Colonel Lindbergh.

Occurrences like these I have cited are fairly frequent. They prove that our liberties do not exist by virtue of their being set forth in the noble language of venerable documents. They are for use and must be continually defended. They must not be allowed to languish in times of crisis. Crises are their tests. Our liberties are our surest means, if we succeed in preserving them, to the diffusion of intelligence and the perpetuation of an evolving culture in a well-ordered society.

The Best Minds

The danger is not that a particular class is unfit to govern: every class is unfit to govern. Imagine a class of such celebrities as More, Bacon, Gratius, Pascal, Cromwell, Bossuet, Montesquieu, Jefferson, Napoleon, Pitt. The result would be an encyclopedia of error.—*Lord Acton, in a letter to Bishop Creighton.*

Sic Semper Dissenters

IN the town of Hottentottenville an aged Hottentot,
Whose name was Hottentotten-Tillypoo,
Was feebly hottentottering around a vacant lot,
With a vacant look upon his higgaboo.
Now "higgaboo" is Hottentot, as you may know, for "face,"
And to wear a vacant look upon your face is a disgrace.
But poor old Mr. Tillypoo, he had no other place,
Though I understand it grieved him through (and thru).

He was grubbing up potatoes in an aimless sort of way
(Which really was the only way he had),
And an officer was watching him to hear what he might say,
And arrest him if the thing he said was bad.
For it seems this wretched Tillypoo had gone and had the thought
That his neighbors didn't always do exactly as they ought;
And as this was rank sedition, why, they hoped to see him caught;
For it naturally made 'em pretty mad.

So the men of Hottentottenville, they passed a little law,
Which they called the Hotta-Shotta-Shootem Act,
Which fixed it so the postman was a kind of Grand Bashaw,
Who determined what was false and what was fact.
And the postman sentenced Tillypoo, and wouldn't hear his wails;
But kept him twenty years apiece in all the local jails,
And said he couldn't vote no more, and barred him from the mails,
And expressed the hope that *this* would teach him tact.

Well, the last I heard of Tilly, he was trying not to think,
And he'd tied a piece of string around his tongue,
And he never went within a mile of either pen or ink,
And he always stood when *any* song was sung.
And maybe you are thinking that his fate was rather tough,
But what I say is, not a bit, they didn't do enough;
When anyone differs with you, dammit, treat 'm rough;
Why, they ought to be bub-boiled alive and hung.

—CLARENCE DAY, JR. From *The New Republic, 1919,* and "The Crow's Nest" (*Knopf*). Used by permission.

Why Freedom Still Matters

PAUL JONES

IT is a little more than ten years since Norman Angell, stirred by the way in which liberty was being curtailed in England in the midst of the war, wrote his pamphlet, *Why Freedom Matters*. Those years have been rather hectic ones for the cause of freedom in this country, as well as elsewhere, and it is time that a re-examination of the doctrine was made.

Much has happened in those ten years. America went into the war, and tearing up freedom like a scrap of paper, not only accepted the draft and the espionage act, but outside the law, harried every individual who tried to do his own thinking in regard to the war or social questions. There was the I. W. W. round up and the deportation delirium, the open shop movement aimed at organized labor, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, the limitation of immigration, Americanization programs, the development of the spy system in industry, the coal strikes, prohibition enforcement, fundamentalism, anti-evolution laws, the activities of the military group to prevent discussion of military training, and also Fred Marvin. There has been the rise of Soviet Russia and the activities of Communists the world over; there has been Fascism in Italy and dictatorships in many other spots, the General Strike in England and the Sacco-Vanzetti case here. All of these phenomena—and it is a queer group when one lumps them together—have had their bearing on the question of freedom, and in general they have given it a rather rough time.

Alongside of them, however, should be recalled certain other characteristics of the period. The slowing up of the war propaganda and the development of the revisionist point of view in regard to war guilt took the backbone out of the typical war attitudes. The hysteria in regard to alien "reds" passed, the influence of the Klan has waned, the term 100% American is looked at askance today, and laws on criminal syndicalism are now seldom invoked where they still exist. Zechariah Chaffee's book on *Freedom of Speech* has been published as also those of Leon Whipple on civic liberty, and the American Civil Liberties Union has been struggling valiantly all along. Free lance journals have erupted in many different colleges, the churches have been coming out of their holes and casting a disapproving look at war and military training, and the women too—God bless 'em—have in their larger freedom been making it more difficult for the lid to be kept firmly in place. Again it is a queer grouping.

AS one considers the picture of these factors in the struggle for and against freedom, they seem to present the aspect of a great tide surging back and forth with all sorts of eddies and cross-currents. There is nothing to indicate that the American people, as such, is devoted to the principle of freedom, except for purposes of oratory; but yet, no matter what happens, this principle is never without its witnesses, men and women who are ready to make their sacrifices for it. It is not enough to dismiss the matter by saying, as Leon Whipple does, that "few people care about civil liberty either for themselves or others, and the few who do care, fight for their own liberty, and not for the principle." That is true, but the same thing holds in other realms. General prosperity, where it exists, is the result of the efforts of individuals struggling for their own prosperity. There are very few who work for the general good; yet both good and freedom result from such efforts.

In regard to freedom, this tide has two main currents working against each other. There is that setting toward suppression founded upon a fundamental distrust and fear of people and ideas. It uses whatever vehicles are at hand. It may be the press, or the Department of Justice, or some special group like the Klan. Individuals or institutions come along and organize that latent fear for their own purposes, but they do not create it. On the other hand, when those sinister forces get into action and individuals' toes are stepped on and their liberty curtailed, the latent desire for freedom is evoked often in unexpected places. Here and there individuals and groups arise to challenge the repression and insist upon their own rights. They may or may not get them—more often not; but in the meantime the fears that gave rise to the repression become alleviated and the result is a lifting of the pressure.

All this happens, of course, because there is very little intelligent direction exercised in the life of communities and nations. After-thoughts, when we try to discover why things happen, are about all that we have. In our actions, for the most part, we are guided by feelings and responses, sometimes reacting to economic pressure, sometimes to slogans, sometimes to traditional concepts, but seldom to reasoned processes. It is no wonder that freedom has such a fortuitous existence, subject as it is to general movements and states of mind.

It may seem that with such a view of the situation, it is a work of supererrogation to attempt to bring reason into it at all. Why attempt to establish a prin-

ciple and try to get people to act on it when it is likely that all that will ever get a hearing is emotion? Well, it's the same way with war, the industrial problem, the race problem and doubtless many others. When we have reasoned and argued and stocked up five-mile bookshelves to demonstrate the wisdom or futility of this or that method of meeting these particular problems, an emotional surge, or manifest destiny, or economic determinism may simply rise up and sweep away the whole thing. But you cannot stop people from thinking and planning, for all that. It is just as inevitable as the surge is; and there is still ground for belief that while human thought and reasoned action does not direct the process, it at least serves to mitigate or bend the play of impersonal forces to some degree. In that faith, then, suppose we look into the case for freedom.

The time has passed to consider the abstract question of freedom, eighteenth century style. It does not interest people today; either they think they have it or they know they haven't it, and in either case it does not matter. But there are very practical questions of freedom which people face every day in the midst of the industrial conflict, in school and university life, in the churches, and in relation to government. It is the problem of the individual and the institution. The latter is set to maintain the status quo or at least to proceed along the path it has chosen, while the individual claims the right to self directed action aimed often at changing the institution. Naturally there is a conflict. But that is not the full statement of the case. If it were, we would have simply the question of individual natural rights which we have dismissed. The institution in these days at least, has no sacrosanct entity, although there are plenty of people who try to make out that it has. Whether it is the state, the church, the university, the industrial organization or society itself, it is made up of people and has no existence apart from those who make it up. The problem therefore is that of the relationship between the individual and the group, the group organized in various ways for various purposes.

WITH such a view of the situation we can jump at once to the heart of the problem. Why is there a necessity for freedom for the individual in respect to those organized groups? He may be a conscientious objector in time of war, he may be a communist in a country organized on a republican basis, he may be a union advocate in an open shop industry, he may be a modernist in a church given to fundamentalism, or he may be any kind of critic of the methods or policies of the institution he is in. The real answer is not in terms of his rights, dear and important as those may seem to him, but it is rather in terms of the needs of the institution itself. If it is to be a living, growing concern, it must have the process of growth and change going on within itself all the time. That is the thing which the non-conformist signifies. If the institution suppresses the unwelcome critic, it may strengthen its position for the time, but at the expense of the new life it continually needs. The result is apt to be that the ideas represented by the insurgent element, if they have vitality, will simmer until they erupt violently and wreck the institution, or the act of suppression may create such a back-fire that the policy has to be changed but with a loss of morale, or those ideas will seek expression elsewhere building a new institution that leaves the old one high and dry. In any case the process involves a high social cost both for the individuals and the institution concerned.

That is put in very general terms, but anyone can fill in the details from the many examples which are always at hand. Of course it is predicated on the assumption, surely a reasonable one, that none of our institutions, educational, industrial or political, are perfect and that they are still in a process of growth. Since the discovery of new truth, the development of new processes and the continual change in habits and standards is apt to go on for some time to come, the need for the freedom of the individual to know, to utter, and to argue inside his institution is going to remain, if those institutions are to have a healthy life.

"But it is dangerous," says the institutionalist, and he is right. To let a pacifist criticize conscription, the war aims or lack of them, or even war itself, while the conflict is on, might seriously embarrass the government and make difficult the prosecution of the war. The government might have to make peace. To let individuals in the labor group try to organize an industry without the intervention of labor spies, the blacklist, hired gunmen, or injunctions might threaten the control of their industry by certain corporations. It is dangerous, but it is primarily dangerous to certain policies that are socially disastrous. When one asks the question as to whether the world would not be better off today if the nations had been forced by some such process to make peace before 1918, or whether our industrial situation would not be more hopeful if our reactionary corporations did not have it in their power to repress all effort at change, a truer perspective on the extent of the danger will be secured.

And while the conservative person might question such a conclusion and still consider the unknown elements in such insurgency dangerous, it has been proved again and again that the repressive policy is still more dangerous. Whatever the immediate advantage for the government or the corporation, that policy keeps alive and intensifies the antagonisms and conflicts in society and weakens the co-operative democratic process. That is the greater danger.

THE fundamental weakness of the repressive policy is that it ignores the element of human reactions. It thinks in terms of the goal and is careless of the means used to attain it. An illustration of this point of view is contained in the following paragraph from the London *Times* in a review of the book *The Prevention of War,* by Philip Kerr and Lionel Curtis:

"But if the other nations will not willingly accept the Anglo-Saxon gospel, then indeed we have left for us as the sole resource the last tremendous conception —one which we feel convinced is far from the conscious thought of our authors—that the time will come when the English-speaking race, tired and wearied of the follies of the rest of the world, will join together to impose their will upon it and by sheer force create a unity which will give to them the opportunity of teaching the lessons of freedom."

One may well inquire what sort of freedom that will be, imposed by force! For better or for worse, the means and the end are joined together in a bond which no man can put asunder. In that union lies the eternal fallacy of a war to end war. Freedom can only be attained by developing and encouraging the processes of freedom. If the political freedom achieved in the American Revolution was gained by the colonists acting as if they were free, as few would deny, it simply brings home the importance of freedom as a means as well as an end. Worshipping freedom without practising it, is one of the surest ways to kill it, just as worshipping Jesus without practising his way of life is the nemesis of Christianity.

To profess a desire for an alert and intelligent electorate, to hope for a body of citizens loyal to the support of their country, to wish for a peaceful solution of industrial conflicts, while withholding the opportunity for free discussion, criticism and even opposition is either hypocrisy or futile blindness. Problems in group relationships such as these, are only solved by some sort of integration of the parties concerned, and that is possible only through the free interchange of opinions. Freedom as a means to a better integrated world has been too long neglected in a discussion which has largely concerned freedom as an individual right on the one hand and as a goal on the other.

WHAT has been said up to this point applies, of course, to the struggle of the individual with his church, for that institution, just as much as any other, needs the wholesome correction of insurgent opinion. But the question has a deeper significance in this field; for while industry and the state are supposed to have a concern for the welfare of all the individuals involved, the very essence of religion is that growth in the quality of life which is expressed in the salvation of the individual on the one hand and the Kingdom of God on the other—two things, incidentally, which can never be successfully separated.

Without freedom, moral responsibility becomes a myth. Without freedom the leading of the divine spirit remains an empty phrase. Without freedom, the world becomes an impersonal machine, with God perhaps as the engineer, but there is no place left for the play of spiritual forces. The question is much more than that of the relation of the parson to the ecclesiastical machine, it is a matter of the meaning and quality of the spiritual point of view. Naturally it involves the question of authority, whether of the church or of the Bible, for if the individual is to be free to respond to the leading of God, he cannot set up infallible authorities in between. That is a question which needs treatment by itself, but at least it must be taken into account.

Religion, however, does not operate in an isolated field. Unless it touches life in all its relationships it is sterile. What chance is there, then, for the free religious spirit if men in their contacts with the industrial and political machine are continually under repression and the very concept of freedom is sneered at or feared? The struggle for it must be made all along the line, for it is a true instinct which has told men that democracy is but the expression in social relations of the religious spirit. Dr. Harry F. Ward has said that capitalism is itself a religion. But it is a religion that has no place for freedom, still less for democracy and least of all for the religion of Jesus. In a word, the struggle for freedom is no mere academic exercise, but it is the firing line in the conflict between two opposing conceptions of life.

Two Ancient Oppressions

Poems of the Tang Dynasty (618-905)
Translated by Stella Fisher Burgess and Li An-Che

I.
The Common Graveyard

SOLDIERS have cleared the Huai River road for traffic once more.
Distracted crows, coming and going, caw in the cold air.
Pity the white bones crowded in lonely graves—
All for the sake of generals greedy for military glory.
—CHANG PIN.

II.
The Lot of the Farmer

THE father ploughs the smooth upper field,
His son digs the untilled soil farther down the slope.
It is the sixth moon, the crop has not even sprouted—
But already the Official repairs his granary in anticipation of harvest. —NIEH I CHUNG.

Building Tomorrow's World

Interconfessionalism

A New Approach to Religious Divisions

"THERE is only one heroism," says Romain Rolland, "and that is to see the world as it is and to love it." To most of us the area of life that is most obscure and impenetrable is that strange world where people whose religious outlook is different from ours apparently reside in perfect contentment. There we are altogether blind. We bewail "our unhappy divisions," it is true, but the real significance of them escapes us because a religious experience essentially different from our own has no real existence for us.

This amazing provincialism in things religious is especially prevalent here in America where multitudes of variant sects flourish and where the more important religious cleavages are frequently associated with taboos of caste and race. My Protestant friends who live near Catholic churches rarely if ever enter the doors thrown so hospitably open. If they do venture in on a Sunday morning, they see sights that are to them strange and mysterious—men in queer costumes chanting in a foreign tongue and making ridiculous gestures. The fact that crowds of their fellow-citizens take all this as a matter of course makes it all the more extraordinary. "What are we coming to in America when ignorant superstition has such a strong hold upon the people?" This is their almost invariable comment. "But of course," they go on to say, "the priests have made them afraid," or, "Poor things! I suppose it is almost the only chance for colour and beauty in their lives!"

Catholics and orthodox Protestants alike are inclined to insist that certain types of religious expression are "nothing but ethics," not worthy to be called religion at all. They would be equally scandalized by a religious service centering in the needs of the striking miners where selections from Walt Whitman are substituted for the Bible and where in the "periods of meditation" no reference whatever is made to a deity. The majestic symbolism of the Eastern Orthodox Church, glorifying the common life of nature and of man is practically unknown outside of that communion. ("How terribly unsanitary to kiss those dirty ikons!") Likewise, the sacramental silence of the Quakers, the ethical sanctities of the Communists, the lay-priesthood of the Methodists, the social idealism of the Jews, the revolutionary affirmations of the Christian Scientists, and the active non-resistance of many small sects. All these and many other manifestations of religious life are quite unknown and unrecognized outside of the groups where they are accepted as more or less familiar commonplaces. I am speaking of course for the ordinary man or woman. The student of religion, unless he is particularly fortunate, is in a position scarcely any better. Useful as his scientific procedures are, they can not be substituted for those realizations, artistic in character, that imply an emotional identification exceedingly difficult for one who is not within the particular "fellowship of believers," and quite foreign to our temperament and times.

RELIGIOUSLY, our society represents not the "multiple self" which is often characteristic of a normal life-process but what might be called a "dissociated" or "split" personality, where the separate entities that make up the whole personality exist in relative isolation from one another. There are of course various methods of accommodating ourselves to this diseased state, most of them instinctive in origin and some of them more therapeutic than others.

In the first place, we may look upon all religion as completely negligible,—all religion except perhaps our own very private belief about the universe. Many of our contemporaries are convinced that religion in any form is obsolete. To them it represents the vestigial remains of a former civilization. Some of them explain it as an unsuccessful attempt to escape from reality by substituting secondary for firsthand experiences of sex, social solidarity, and the like. Religion as a form of sex perversion may interest this group.

To some it may have an antiquarian interest. As a vital experience of normal individuals living in the present day they would agree that it simply does not exist.

The propagandist response to religious divisions is familiar to us all in the great missionary enterprises that have been an outstanding feature of nearly all religious societies. A curious compound, many of them have been, of sacrificial goodwill, superiority, and ignorance. Not one cause but a whole array of circumstances is responsible for the undeniable breakdown of Protestant "missions"—in the recognized sense of the word—that we are witnessing at the present time. "To help students regain their belief in foreign missions," was stated by one of the leaders as the purpose of a great conference held recently in Detroit. Judging by comments from the students who attended it, this purpose failed notably in its accomplishment. The leaders of the missionary movement are nervous. There is a great deal of criticism. Changes are in the air. Many devout Christians are repudiating aggressive Christianity in the same spirit in which they repudiate aggressive nationalism. And this is quite as true of home missions as of foreign missions.

Although it may be a fact that "the Klan is on the run," organized suspicion and ill will are still to be found in almost every section of the country. They are based of course upon an instinctive recoil from anything new, a very primitive fear of the unknown. What is less generally understood is that, even in the most sophisticated of us, these irrational prejudices are almost sure to appear when we come in touch for the first time with cherished social *mores* different from those that are dear to us. In times of stress these deepseated prejudices take the most broadminded of us unawares. The only prophylactic is satisfactory social experience within the alien groups. If Al Smith is nominated for President, such a time of stress will certainly have arrived in the United States; how many of us are prepared to meet it?

A RESPONSE to religious divisions that has gathered great momentum in the last two decades is the movement for interdenominationalism. Various communions have pooled their resources for great causes, social and educational. The Federal Council of Churches is an illustration of this tendency; also the chaplain service during the war, and recently, the movement for weekday religious education, uniting as it often does, all the Protestant, Jewish and Catholic forces of a community. Even in its more advanced form, interdenominationalism is practised merely as a *modus vivendi,* a temporary expedient in the interests of economy, not a cure for the disease that afflicts us. And it sometimes operates, I am sorry to say, in such a way as to conceal symptoms and so aggravate the disorder.

Organic union—the unity of all the branches of Christendom—has been for years the dream of religious statesmen and prophets. The dramatic culmination of a long period of devotion and effort was expressed last summer in the World Conference on Faith and Order. With such a great end in view, attention must of course be focussed on agreements rather than divergences, on the irreducible minimum to be accepted by every group. Religions other than those of the traditional Christian type are ignored. What will such a unification accomplish? Is there not danger that variations that make for progress will be stamped out? Can the end be reached without a long interchange of religious experience in order that the true grounds for unity as well as for differentiation may be recognized?

THESE then are the five common ways of meeting the religious divisions of our present society: ignoring them completely; missionary propaganda; organized prejudice; interdenominationalism; and efforts towards Church unity. Another approach, known as *Interconfessionalism,* is just beginning to make its appearance in America. *Interconfessionalism is the term used to describe fellowship between various religious groups or between individuals with different religious backgrounds where no basis of common agreement is sought and where each group, or individual, expresses to the full its own religious convictions.* Mutuality is the single principle governing such fellowships. The process is free interchange of experience. The *by-laws* are included in that great phrase, "Let us agree to differ and resolve to love."

Interconfessionalism is not suggested as a final solution but rather as a practical method for immediate use. It is practised, for the most part, quite unofficially. Perhaps its most characteristic expression is in the interchange of rather small groups. I have been so fortunate as to have been a member of three such groups. A fourth, which I shall describe first, I have known merely as a visitor. This is a group of Jewish and Italian Catholic children in a Protestant Sunday-school in New York City. By the Protestants in charge of the School the children are encouraged to speak frankly of their religious traditions. In Holy Week for the last two years, the School has had a service of worship in which Catholic members have described and explained the ceremonies associated for them with the Easter season, and Jewish boys and girls have done the same thing for their Passover customs. Musical selections, both Jewish and Catholic, form a part of the service.

For several years a Jewish-Christian fellowship to which I belonged met regularly one night a month. It was most informal. The chief requirement for mem-

bership was that one should be "practising" either as a Jew or a Christian. Various topics were taken up—the Bible, marriage, education, and many others. On each topic there was a brief introduction prepared by one of the members and then general discussion in which all of us expressed ourselves with the utmost freedom. As an outgrowth of these monthly meetings there developed a number of more intimate contacts, visits to each other's homes, midnight talks, occasional sharing of critical problems.

Another interconfessional group of which I was a member, was composed of seven people—a Russian Orthodox, a German Catholic, a French Huguenot, a French Christian unaffiliated with any church, an Anglo-Catholic and two American Methodists; all of us students. At our first meeting we agreed on these rules of procedure: "1. We shall speak primarily from our own personal experience; 2. In speaking we shall not be taken to represent our religious group (some of us took exception to this saying that we were unable to separate ourselves from a deep organic relationship with our church; every time we spoke it would inevitably be in some sense our church speaking); 3. We shall never seek to come to an agreement; 4. We shall restrict ourselves to the discussion of religious subjects." With these statements as a guide we launched into an experience of religious fellowship that no one of us will soon forget. At certain high points we felt that we possessed imaginatively each other's experience. For some of us, altar lights, ikons, the food that is blessed on Easter Even, came to have a new meaning. We all shared the intense and rather precarious life in a whole series of Methodist parsonages where one of our number had grown up.

One of the many surprises that our fellowship had in store for us was the knowledge that it brought us of the movements for liberal thought in each one of our religious communions,—advanced Biblical criticism in France, for instance, and the interest in women in the priesthood among a group of Catholics in Germany. When we came to know them better, we discovered that other religions were like our own in that they were not flat-toned pictures whose design could be easily recognized but more like four dimensional areas including in each one of them many and sometimes antagonistic varieties of opinion and practice.

A LARGER interconfessional, and also international, group of students met in Nyborg, Denmark, in 1926. There, about a hundred students and student leaders—Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox—came together for worship and to discuss the affairs of the World Student Christian Federation. At this meeting a far reaching decision was made. Henceforth, it was decided, the Federation was to be truly interconfessional in character, encouraging in its membership not only individuals with different religious backgrounds, but groups of Christians from the three great divisions of Christianity. Its present almost exclusively Protestant character was to be abandoned. The following declaration was adopted; I believe it to be a document of great historical significance.

> The World's Student Christian Federation in its constituent movements, welcomes members of all Christian communions as well as Christian students who do not belong to any communion.
>
> It suffers under the strife which tears the Christian Church and accepts humbly its share of the burden of division; it cannot adopt an attitude of superiority or indifference to the fact of separation.
>
> The Federation bears grateful witness to God's gift of fellowship in Christ. It knows that its common life is enriched by calling upon all its members to share with one another the spiritual treasures of their Church.
>
> Accepting the task which the gift of this fellowship implies, it asks God to use it to help to prepare the way for unity by the practice of love in such ways as are according to His Holy Will. It knows that such obedience to God's will involves struggle and suffering.
>
> The Federation affirms its invincible hope that the day will come when the prayer of our Lord will be fulfilled "Ut onnes unum sint."

Perhaps it is to be expected that thoughtful young people, students, will be the ones to build bridges of mutual understanding between divergent religious groups. With such preparation, we shall have—when the age of religious unity comes in, if it ever does—not group aggression, nor international uniformity, but a bond of fellowship that resembles more nearly a true League of Religions. Whatever the outcome will be, the practice of interconfessionalism seems to be the only method by which we are enabled to see our conflicting and variegated religious world as it really is, and having seen it in terms of shared human experience, grow to love it.

ADELAIDE TEAGUE CASE.

Grounds for Pacifism

The following statement is one of a series we are reprinting from a symposium issued in England by the No More War Movement, giving reasons for faith in that movement's drastic opposition to war.

Because it is doing the two essential things to bring about peace to the world—(1) advocating a constructive pacifist policy to establish a new social and international order in which the causes of war will be removed; and (2) arousing the spirit of resistance to war, which will create a determination among the other peoples to refuse to slaughter each other, should their Governments threaten war before our constructive work is accomplished.—A. FENNER BROCKWAY, *Chairman, No More War Movement and of the War Resister's International; Editor, "New Leader"; Political Secretary, Independent Labour Party.*

Not in the Headlines

AGNES A. SHARP

Votes Boycott in India

After a long discussion the Indian National Congress has unanimously adopted a resolution to boycott severely the British Statutory Commission on its forthcoming visit to India.

Only 14 Nations Ratify Slavery Ban

Of the fifty-six members of the League of Nations and the more than a dozen other organized states, only fourteen nations have ratified the League's international convention for the gradual abolition of all forms of slavery. Provisions for gradual abolition were made in order that the economic life of any country might not be upset. The convention was drafted with particular reference to Mohammedan countries where slavery is recognized.

250,000 Slaves Freed

Recently, in Sierra Leone, protectorate in Africa, nearly 250,000 Negro dominion slaves were freed and put on a basis of political equality with their former masters.

The Wealth of the United States

Indications that the national wealth of the U. S. has reached the staggering total of slightly more than half a trillion dollars is given in the report of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. The 117,000,000 persons in the country had a total income of nearly $90,000,000,000 in 1926. This indicates an increase of approximately twenty-seven billions in the five years since 1921, or more than 43 per cent. The annual increase in the Nation's income since 1921, when a total of sixty-two billions was recorded, was shown to be $3,000,000,000 for 1922, $7,000,000,000 for 1925 and $3,000,000,000 for 1926, when an exact total of $89,682,000,000 was earned. The same increase holds true for the average per capita income of persons gainfully employed, which has risen from $1,637 in 1921 to $2,210 in 1926. "This great increase in income is not the result of an increase in the price level," the bureau said, "for the actual price of consumed goods was slightly less in 1926 than 1921."

Poland's Budget

The 1927 to 1928 budget proposal shows a heavy increase in expenditures for military purposes. The increase amounts to approximately 165,000,000 zlotys (roughly 82,000,000 gold marks) in comparison with the previous year. Poland is one of Europe's dictator-ruled countries. Marshall Pilsudski is Master of Poland, but natural opposition to a dictatorship inserts a factor of uncertainty into the situation. It is important to remember that the present State of Poland is a combination of the former territories as united—Poland, Galicia, White Russia, part of Ukraine, Prussia, and Lithuania, with just as many different nationalities and races. Poland has to prove her stability as a state. In external relations Poland has disadvantages. She is the buffer state between the capitalistic and communistic parts of Europe. The present State of Poland includes the "Polish Corridor" which divides East Prussia from the rest of Germany. It includes other territories of Germany and Russia which may some day be claimed by neighbors if they regain their former political importance.

American Journalistic Order Honors Dr. Lew

Dr. Timothy Ting-fang Lew, dean of the theological school and professor of education at Yenching University, Peking, has been elected to membership in Sigma Delta Chi, national professional journalistic fraternity, by the University of Oregon chapter.

Citizens and Christians

Parts of the report of the Committee on Social Service of the Michigan Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church are quoted because of their significance:

"1. Freedom of speech is an essential prerogative of citizens of a Christian democracy and we pledge ourselves to resist any effort to curtail public discussion of public questions or to persecute any minority for espousing unpopular opinions.

"2. We accept Jesus' principle of the oneness of the world-wide human family and make it our aim to let no interest of self, family, church, class, race or nation separate us from any one or any body of our fellowmen.

"i. We recognize that this lays immediately at our doors in Michigan the responsibility to establish a brotherly association with the Mexican who comes to work within the borders of our state.

"ii. We recognize also the presence of twelve million Negro Americans in our country and accept our responsibility to cooperate with these people in their efforts to make themselves physically free from peonage, mentally free from ignorance, politically free from disfranchisement and socially free from insult.

"iii. We accept full responsibility for a brotherly spirit in our dealings with all racial and national groups within our borders.

"3. The church stands for the making of men; industry, with few exceptions, stands for the making of profits. The Christian motive and the profit motive are irreconcilable. The desire for profits has developed the production ideal in industry with the result that skilled workmanship is being eliminated and men are being turned out of work in late middle age without any means of support and so become pauperized or crushed in spirit: The church must stand courageously in season and out of season for the first principle of the Kingdom of God—the supremacy of human values. Ultimately justice and goodwill in industry must issue in some form of industrial democracy which will conserve manhood and womanhood for social effectiveness.

"4. War is an inglorious, ineffective, wasteful and un-Christian method of settling international difficulties. It is the duty of the church to give particular attention to means of producing a new heaven and a new earth here below. We must seize every opportunity and method to build the will to peace. Military training in the high schools and compulsory military training in colleges are contrary to the spirit of Jesus and the genius of America.

"5. Self-determination must replace economic imperialism in our dealings with weaker peoples.

"i. The United States might well set the world an example of enlightened statesmanship by affording the people of the Philippines an opportunity to express their own preferences as to the form of government under which they shall live, through some form of plebiscite.

"ii. We protest against any imperialistic or militaristic attitude on the part of our government toward Latin America. The original Monroe Doctrine was intended to assure the free development of South American countries. There is evidence that it is now being used as a cover for American imperialism in those same countries.

"iii. We strongly protest against any form of dollar diplomacy. We cannot agree to the principle that foreign investments must be protected by military force. . . ."

The Schools Advance!*

By DALLAS LORE SHARP

PRELIMINARY to writing this paper I made note of some recent gains in American education, beginning with President Eliot (now with us in spirit and more than ever potent) and John Dewey, the City of Cleveland, the extermination of troy weight and cube root, The National Education Association, the books *Creative Youth* and *The Growth of Teachers in Service,* The Kansas State Teachers' Association, E. A. Winship (not recent but still going strong), The American Council on Education, *The Road to Xanadu,* The Pennsylvania State Research Association, The National Education Bill (Curtis-Reed Bill not "gained" but gaining), the Bolton High School at Alexandria, Alabama, the Women's Summer Schools at Sweet Briar and Bryn Mawr, the school coach in New Mexico, the increased student enrollment, not to mention the increased costs—until I had three thousand five hundred gains, more or less, only to remember that this survey is strictly limited to three thousand five hundred *words.*

I must generalize not itemize, boost not knock, although it has been the universal habit, when short of writing matter, to larrup the schools. Set up a howl against education and every editor in the land will howl with you. Attack education for a timely topic! It is always with us and always open to attack. We all have to take it, and pay enormously for it, and suffer the shame of it—even vicariously in the end for our Bill and Nell, perfect children before they went to school! Education involves more of us than any other American activity; involves more money than any other American undertaking; involves more perfections than any other American doctrine; and consequently it involves more chance for fools, faddists, faultfinders, and editorial opportunists.

This whole vast pother is about the children, Bill and Nell. They are central in the picture. We are spending these millions and using the brains and lives of these tens of thousands for them—to get Nell a husband and Bill a job, *The Forum* says. Yes, we want Nell to marry, but she ought not, even if she can, without charm. We want Bill to make money and be useful as a citizen, but he cannot without a job. They both need education. And education, whatever it is, is all for them.

TESTING everything by the needs of Bill and Nell, what are some of the gains in American Education? To begin with things general I would say organization. It is amazingly well organized. Starting with the grade teacher in her local teachers' club, that teacher through the larger county club, and state association, is linked with every other teacher in the land through the National Education Association. Not every teacher is in the organization, but many are, and the scheme provides for all, as it now benefits all. Every department of education is so organized, and every aspect; colleges tied to secondary schools, professional schools tied to colleges. The urban colleges organized; the land-grant colleges organized; New England colleges together; Middle States and Maryland colleges together; State Universities together; Medical Colleges, Catholic Colleges, Junior Colleges. There is an American Association of University Women, an American Association of University Professors, American Library Association, Association of American Colleges, an Association of American Medical Colleges, an Association of American Universities, a National Society of College Teachers of Education. This nowhere near exhausts them.

Take any department of instruction, say, English: there is The National Council of Teachers of English with an official journal, *The English Journal,* published in Chicago. Is it a course of study, English again? There is an "Essentials Committee" within the Council comparing courses of study east and west, north and south, clarifying, simplifying, systematizing, and unifying the English work throughout the land. So from kindergarten to graduate school.

There is no chance here to discuss the dangers of over-organization. Just how such dangers can threaten education is difficult to see. Education is greatly over-mechanized, over-methodized, and over-theorized, but the great forces which handle the problems of American education down to the child himself can hardly be too well organized. In the actual work of teaching the teacher always stands alone, and the pupil stands alone. Neither is an order nor a society nor an organization, but always and ever a person in the class room.

The weakest place in the organization is the inadequate Bureau of Education at Washington, a statement which will provoke dissent. We need a Hooverized *Department* of Education at Washington—a statement which will cause violent dissent. However, it seems to me that the fears and objections to such

* Sixth in a series of articles on "Recent Gains in American Civilization." Copyright, 1928, THE WORLD TOMORROW. Reproduction limited to 300 words.

a Department are really bottomed upon other than educational grounds. The great dread of government control is imaginary. The present bill for such a department is so drawn as to make such control impossible. We have lately witnessed some outrageous instances of "centralized power" at Washington; but the tendency is now the other way. The new doctrine of "decentralized responsibility with central coöperation" is now operating in some of the departments at Washington, and is the only doctrine which could be applied to a Department of Education. The Bureau of Education is utterly inadequate for all of this manifold, organized educational activity; the task is too large. This is the Nation's business, for the sole end and object of it all is The State, that is, the people.

ACCOMPANYING this organization, both as cause and result, appears a new teaching morale. Teaching, clear down the line, has become a profession. A fine professionalism marks the spirit of the work, an enthusiasm and high exacting standards not surpassed now in any profession. I have just finished a six-weeks' course of lectures at the Bread Loaf Summer School of English; I am now on my way to meet the Kansas and Nebraska State Teachers' Associations, and in the small, specialized class, or in the great annual convention, the apparent and electric thing is the new professional consciousness, bottomed not only upon the necessity and significance of the teacher's calling, but also upon the fraternity, the dignity, the universally recognized scientific standards of the calling.

The public is hardly aware of this new professional spirit, nor has it yet made adequate provision for the training and the compensating of it, large as have been the increases in salaries and study opportunities. Not many years ago I stood talking with the dean of a summer school. The students I had been addressing were drawn almost wholly from the teachers of that particular state. As they poured out of the hall past us one of them, a young girl, stopped to ask something of the dean, and he asked, in the course of the brief conversation, "Where are you teaching, Miss Maberry?" She blushed and answered, "I ain't never teached yet."

That thing can still happen—but not for long. Eighty-five percent of the colored teachers of North Carolina were recently enrolled in summer training schools. The National Educational Association has established as a minimum standard for teaching, a course of study extending four years beyond the high school. That high level has not been everywhere attained, but nothing in American education is moving swifter than the whole teaching body toward this professional goal. The time is close at hand when Bill and Nell shall have not only an educated teacher, but a trained teacher, as skilled as their family doctor and of the same professional spirit.

ALONG with teaching as a career and the growth of the professional spirit has gone a development in the physical equipment for education unparalleled in any other time or land. A log with a teacher and pupil astraddle of it may be an ideal university for Robinson Crusoe's Island, but education in the United States is not quite so simple. Million-dollar school houses have become as common as little red school houses used to be. Million-dollar teachers are multiplying, as we have seen, to furnish them. All that science and art can devise together for line and equipment inform these buildings from portico to locker rooms. Bodies, minds, and spirits of children are lovingly, wisely, beautifully built into them. Childhood is divine, and the worshipping nation has built it a temple in the American School.

What this temple is like without and within I have neither need nor space to describe. That there is still criminal crowding of children in school rooms everybody knows and admits. But motor, as I have recently done, through the early fall from Boston to Santa Barbara and note the buildings of the public schools and the building operations going forward. Crowning the heights of towns and set in ample spaces in the big cities, the public schools range across the continent the largest, most beautiful, most significant, most characteristic expression of our national democratic life.

And over them flies the American flag, the symbol of another important gain in our present education. In spite of religious differences and social presumptions, the public school is recognized as a national institution, bent strictly upon the nation's business. No other gain since the War is perhaps of such moment as the social and civic trend of public school instruction. It is impossible in so brief a space to make clear, or even adequately to characterize, this new mind and method in education. It was inevitable that education, shifting from its old subject-centeredness to child-centeredness, should come to see the child in all his human relations, and should try to make him over from self-mindedness to social-mindedness. In education now a quiet, constant emphasis is put upon the social virtues, such as health, fair-play, coöperation, clean-mindedness, poise, initiative, loyalty, politeness, orderliness, industry, public interest and the like, making distinctly for civic thought and the spirit of service. We are not now chiefly interested in the form and content of learning, but rather in doing and being, which are larger, more important, more enduring things. Self government, student councils, honor study halls—there is no end to the devices in the new socialized education for developing in the child a social consciousness and a social conscience. Courses in civics, government, history, science and literature so studied develop such new bearings and so many unsuspected meanings, as to make the courses in history and biology furious storm centers at the mo-

ment, until *what* shall be taught in these two courses, and *how* it shall be taught, are "the most important curricula problems of the day."

THIS large indefinite something dimly outlined above is not for such as are of little faith, who smile wisely at the foolishness of democracy. I should be a cynic myself, being a constitutional and a political democrat. I can't be cynical and be so intimately concerned with what is going forward in our schools. And this in spite of the Scopes Trial, and Mayor Thompson of Chicago, and the reactionary education bills bombarding every legislature in the land. The schools are in politics; but politics are in the schools—and there is hope there. The schools are in religion; but religion is also in the schools—and there is hope there. Let Mayor Thompson burn the books. The brighter the bonfire the more educational light he will shed on Chicago. Let him burn Superintendent McAndrew. Education needs its martyrs too. Needs orators like the late Mr. Bryan, and scholars, like the present Mayor of Chicago. Mr. Bryan is gone. Mayor Thompson will drift away on the Chicago Drainage Canal. But the schools will keep, better and bigger schools, and they will continue to make over and amalgamate into a democracy this heterogenous and multitudinous mind which is America.

This brings us to the center of the ring against the heavyweight challenger of American education, that two-fisted bruiser who hates the mass and despairs of the individual. The absurdity of stretching education to cover all of us! The impossibility of *fitting* an education to each one of us! We are too numerous and too diverse. It *is* absurd. It *is* impossible. But it has to be done, and so we are doing it. Doing the impossible? Certainly. The impossible has always been done. For twenty-five years I have taught. I have added four diverse sons to this too numerous mass to be taught. I am not theorizing. Teaching has been a practical class-room and domestic problem with me. I testify to what I know.

As referee in this fight I declare that education, on both counts, has won. If the battle all of these years has been doubtful, it no longer is. These two fundamental positions have been occupied and partly consolidated. American education is for all of the people, no matter how many millions of them; and for each of the people individually no matter how many millions there are of the individuals. We are making a poor fist of it in certain sections—over the South, for instance. But I wonder if in New England longer strides are being taken educationally than right now all over the South. Watch North Carolina—leading the rest of the states in many public school matters. Study Delaware—for her educational programme will bear study. See the scramble of story tellers and folklore hunters to get into the Tennessee mountains before education makes that rich and picturesque land a howling waste for them!

This summer I came into a Vermont town where a woman on the school board could neither read nor write. In Colorado 58% of the children are without high school privileges in over 50% of the area of the state. All of this and more is true. The battle has been won, but the victory has not yet been fully realized. Nevertheless, what has been done is like a miracle. Through the mud and snow one December night I crawled up to the tiny hamlet of Bluewater, New Mexico, huddled under the sage-brush on the very top of the Continental Divide. A Mormon family took me in. It had been a heart-breaking day, and it was as stark and wild a night as ever covered those high, bleak plains. I had come to the top of the world, and to the end of the world, but after the late supper the table was cleared and the little Mormon children brought out their books and began to bore into them for tomorrow's lessons. A motor coach would pick them up early in the morning to carry them miles across the sage and sand and snow to the public school—here on the crest of the continental watershed, millions of miles from Boston! But not so far away either.

There is plenty of doubt, seeing that this thing can't be done, as to whether it is feasible to try to do it. There is plenty of downright antagonism on the part of culturalists, industrialists, masses-haters, scribes and pharisees. But these are in the big minority. Education for everybody (even up to his sixteenth year) by compulsion when necessary, is as central in our American thought as the Mississippi River is central in our American landscape.

AMERICAN education, I say, is for each of the people personally. No recent educational gain is greater than that which is involved in the individual attention given to the young Joneses, Bill and Nell. A revolution in everything from teaching methods to school furniture is in rapid progress in order to invest Nell with her needed charms and Bill with his job, prescribed and foreordained from the foundation of the world.

"As we examine the mass-product of our public schools," asks the editor of *The Forum,* "what do we find? Instead of learning, literacy; instead of culture an enormously stimulated demand for chewing gum, cosmetics, and tabloid newspapers [there is a full-page cigarette advertisement in this particular issue of *The Forum*]; instead of educated men and women, capable of thinking for themselves, a flock of gullibles battening on the syndicated opinions of a decadent press. Surely we are the victims of a fetish; and as the spell dissolves, we wonder how we could have been so taken in. In spite of our almost superhuman efforts, Bill and

Nellie Jones are far from educated, and at last we are questioning whether they ever can be."

That sounds private schoolish, as if the editor might have been a master at Groton or somewhere, not in a public school. And how perennial! How characteristic of our educational criticism! And how far behind the times! Old Rip is eternally waking up and rubbing his eyes; but how long he sleeps! Certainly this editor does not consider himself the product of, nor in any way beholden to (I resort to this offensive combination as a way of swearing), the public schools.

Mass-products of our public schools? A class-consciousness-editorial straw man! There is much in education that can be done, and best done *en masse*. There is too much herding, heaven knows, sheer lack of space, in schools; there is something of mass-production, something vicious, in the college lecture system (rapidly giving place to more personal methods); there are public schools a-plenty where the old machine methods still obtain, and ancient customs and sanctions having more lives than cats have; there are benighted teachers, ill-natured, ill-trained, ill-paid teachers, not everywhere, yet in altogether too many schools, public and private; but over against this everywhere are children liking to go to school because they have an individual good time in school. They are not massed, not generally herded, and handled as cattle or breakfast food in a factory. This entire paper would not give me chance to enumerate the individualizing processes, the ways and means employed in school today for liberating personality and spurring initiative. The public school is giving Bill and Nell room and verge and choice and chance, putting the highest of premiums upon originality. Go into any New Jersey school, or any California school, or any school between, and you are likely to see the child conducting the recitation. Emphasis upon individuality can hardly be stronger than that.

An acquaintance of mine in California had to send her little daughter, stricken with infantile paralysis, for a long siege to the hospital. The public school teacher followed her there and kept her moving happily along with her class at school. I personally know of another case (this also happens to be in California) of a backward child, who suffered in the class-room from his size and years. The state left that child at home, where he was free from self-consciousness and misery, sending the teacher to him, instead of him to the teacher.

I do not say that this is a general, nation-wide practice, or that it will be by the end of 1928. I do say, however, that this is the general, nation-wide *doctrine*, preached in every great state and national teachers' convention, taught in every normal school and teachers' college, and in spirit practiced throughout the land.

Here let me speak of this joy in going to school as one of the greatest of gains in education, having to do with the general well-being and larger life of the people. Education has at last become a means of grace; learning a way of loving and rejoicing. Schools and colleges are avenues of pleasure, adding to the gaiety of the nation. As a people we know how to play, but not how to be glad. Much learning is a weariness to the flesh, and of the making of books there is no end, was a philosophy based upon the experience of going to school in the good old days of my time when learning was so largely through the epidermis.

EDUCATION does move. Here is the greatest institution in our civilization devoted to the child as a child, to all of his intellectual, and to many of his physical, social and religious needs, from his years of five to sixteen, recognizing and providing for his need of joy and play and adventure by doing, as well as by learning.

Doing is not the least of our new gains. Bill Jones and his sister Nell are receiving more manual training and vocational guidance than children ever did before in American schools. Only about one out of every ten high school students goes on to college, but the nine who go directly to work go with much counsel and training to their occupations, and in many cases after completing courses of instruction bearing directly upon their work. It is the settled conviction of this country that the school is not the place to teach the manual arts and trades. The mill and shop are best for that; but the schools do clearly recognize the duty, among their manifold responsibilities, to stress the occupations, and to guide the students by courses with teachers trained in occupational science toward the proper choice of life work.

With this has come, no doubt, a slackening off in cultural studies. The fight for the humanities is far from won. The battle see-saws over the country both in secondary schools and colleges; but in that wide, co-educational section of the Middle-West, where things American are being determined, the cultural studies still hold the balance of power. Even in the tremendous technical high school at Omaha the principal told me with deep satisfaction of the extent and quality of the history courses and other humanities which he had been able to work into the scientific and industrial programme.

Indirectly, and under new names, the cultural influences, in spite of the showing made by Bill and Nell, are leavening the gross lump of school-going America. Take the training in oral composition, the staging and producing of plays, the debating, the free discussions in the class, the school papers, bands, orchestras, traffic corps and expeditions, the Boy and Girl Scouts, Hi-Y-Clubs, 4-H Clubs—all making for mental and physical poise, community spirit, good manners, larger reading and finer feeling. A multitude of these things everywhere go forward specifically and persistently in

the interests of the minor virtues, the sum of which is culture. The physical director, the school doctor and dentist and nurse, the psychological and achievement measurements and tests—what is not done now in school to add health to knowledge and grace and happiness to life?

I have not named the Junior high school, the continuation, the part-time, the night, the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A. and other schools of recent origin designed to eke out the scanty chance of those who have to quit school early, to bridge that awkward gap from grammar grades to high school, and from high school to college. The usual four or five years of floundering between college and the graduate's real work is now getting the attention it demands. Nor is there room to make clear the relation of the measuring and testing (so often overdone) to the improvement in teaching methods, courses of study and grading in the schools. Many educators put the scientific measurements brought to bear upon education in the last few years as first among our recent advances.

I COULD not survey the college field in this short paper. There is not a corresponding gain there—except a gain in numbers. And in spite of popular opinion I will claim these gross numbers for gain. They are infinitely more than vulgar, representing a gross gain in intelligence, skill, and refinement. Some of us are afraid of extent, and numbers, and commonplaceness. College distinctly makes for less commonplaceness. Not long ago I attended as guest the second annual reunion of a recent college class, where every member present had to rise and tell what he was doing. The report was amazing for its variety, and even more thrilling for its importance and promise. Several of the girls had married (the college was co-educational), but the thrills didn't stop there. Not a single report was a blank, nor such as failed to justify the college course.

The American college is not ideal, but it is a good college for Americans. It is honestly trying to do what is required of it; and the thing required is the needed thing in America at the present time. It is producing scholars like John Livingston Lowes, scientists like Dr. Millikan, statesmen like Wilson, and the majority of our leaders in every field. But chiefly, as Professor Palmer has recently pointed out, it is producing business men and women with large cultural backgrounds and wide civic interests who are handling the enormous wealth of the country with imagination and feeling—building cities like Cleveland, acting as trustees for art, education, exploration, research, and conservation; serving the State, in short, with their college training, as in European countries the aristocracy has felt obliged to serve.

Nothing is more difficult to appraise than this indefinite, spiritual something we call education. To say the nation is spending two billions of dollars annually on it, or about one hundred dollars per child, is not to evaluate it, for even this puts only about one child in ten through the high school. The undertaking seems almost immeasurable. Yet we are trying to do it; and it can be done; and the hope of the nation is founded upon the doing of it. Trust in education is the head of the corner stone of our political faith. Educating the people is the country's chief concern. Government by education is no longer an experiment. So the State and the schools proceed—doing many things they should not do, of course, and getting much just, and much unjust, criticism; and leaving undone many things they ought to do. But I doubt if there is another two billion dollar enterprise on this continent that begins to be so well managed as the educational enterprise, out of which we get so much for our money, one in which there is making more rapid and substantial gains, or one on which so securely rests the safety of the State and the happiness of the people.

Sepulchre

DEATH'S ways are curious, I found
The first time that I died;
They put my soul beneath a mound,
My body left outside.

I wonder if when next I die
They'll make the same mistake
And with my body cause to lie
Some soul, dead for my sake.

KENNETH W. PORTER

Song for Lost Seamen

A pool as that Narcissus spied
Will draw young men of languor,
Small wonder that the running tide
Can fill them with new hunger.

What if the frail craft go down
It is of little matter,
They have no fear to dive and drown
And sink through golden water.

To music clear as any bell
They drift to final slumber
And dream of other men who fell
Through water no less amber.

For who on all the seas would make
Mourn for a little loss
If he could sleep with Francis Drake
Three days off Barbados.

STERLING NORTH

The Religious Press and the Oil Scandal

A Study in Modern "Prophecy"

JEROME DAVIS

THE American Protestant Church ought to be the champion of justice and righteousness. It should denounce wickedness in high places. How far does it conform to the current standards of Rotary, Kiwanis, and "One Hundred Percentism"? Rarely has there been a better test of the social vision of the church than in its reaction to the oil scandals at Washington. How far has the religious press of America been blind to the deeper moral and civic implications of this corruption?

On February 28th, 1927, the United States Supreme Court decided unanimously: "The facts and circumstances disclosed by the record show clearly that the interest and influence of Fall as well as his official action were corruptly secured by Doheny for the making of the contracts and leases; that after the executive order of May 31, 1921, Fall dominated the administration of the naval reserves, and that the consummation of the transaction was brought about by means of collusion and corrupt conspiracy between him and Doheny. Their purpose was to get for petitioners oil and gas leases covering all the unleased lands in the reserve. The making of the contracts was a means to that end, and *the whole transaction was tainted with corruption.*"

On October 10, 1927, the Supreme Court by another sweeping decision cancelled the Teapot Dome lease to Harry F. Sinclair, again denouncing Fall, former Secretary of the Interior, as a "faithless public official." This decision once more completely upholds the viewpoint of Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana and the late Senator La Follette.

Recall the facts leading up to these decisions. In 1909 President Taft withdrew from all forms of entry three great areas of public land, two in the state of California, and one in Wyoming. In 1910 Congress passed an act legalizing what had been done, and in 1912 two areas in California were set aside by the President as naval reserves. In 1915, President Wilson withdrew an area in Wyoming popularly called Teapot Dome.

Prior to these withdrawals there were certain claims of private individuals. Secretary Daniels of the Navy, who was then in office, took a strict attitude towards these old claims, while the Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, was lax. Consequently Congress passed a law giving the Secretary of the Navy sole leasing power. On May 31, 1920, President Harding transferred all oil reserve rights to the Secretary of the Interior. The original draft for this order was written by Secretary Fall. Admiral Griffin, chief of the Bureau of Engineering of the Navy, objected to the transfer; "so," says Senator Walsh, "did everyone else in the Navy Department who had had a thing to do with these naval reserves." Secretary Denby claimed to have written a letter to the President enclosing the protest of Admiral Griffin, but neither the letter nor the protest, in some mysterious way, ever reached the President. The order was signed by President Harding on May 31, 1921, without giving any official reason. In the following month of June the first Doheny contract was made. In the month of October, 1921, Admiral Griffin retired, and Admiral Robison was chosen to succeed him.

It so happened that Admiral Robison during the war had commanded the ship on which the son of Doheny was an officer. The elder Doheny had consequently visited the Admiral and imbued him with the idea that the proper course for the government was to take the oil out of the reserves and store it in tanks at the seaboard. It is a curious coincidence that of all the eminent men in the Navy, Admiral Robison was chosen as chief of the Reserves.

Towards the close of the year 1921, Mr. Sinclair in his private car, with his wife and attorney, visited Fall at the latter's ranch at Three Rivers, New Mexico. Their negotiations resulted in the lease of Teapot Dome. Complete secrecy surrounded these negotiations, and there were no bids. The lease was signed by Secretary Denby on April 12, 1922.

Soon rumors began to leak out. The Senator for Wyoming, Mr. Kendrick, in whose state the lands were, sent an official letter to the Secretary of the Interior, but could obtain no information. It was not until the 21st of April that a letter was sent to the Senate saying that the lease had been signed on April 7th. However, on the 14th of April a plain statement concerning the execution of these leases was made public in the *Wall Street Journal.* Apparently in this instance it had better facilities for finding out what was happening in the United States Department of the Interior than had the United States Senate.

The general leasing law passed by Congress in 1920 provided that no single corporation should acquire more than 640 acres of oil lands in any one lease. Actually, the Sinclair lease covered nine thousand acres.

In December, a lease to Doheny of all of Naval Reserve Number 1 included thirty-two thousand acres. It is estimated that this area contained 250 million barrels of oil. At the time, no one knew what the lease covered, as the Department of the Interior simply stated that Doheny had been given permission to drill a few more off-set wells.

The entire transactions would undoubtedly have been legalized had it not been for the fact that in 1920 Secretary Fall had been delinquent in taxes for ten years. After the negotiations with Sinclair he bought a ranch next to him for $90,000, and also put $40,000 into a hydro-electric plant. It will be recalled that Senator Walsh called upon Fall to explain how he had secured the money. In reply, Fall testified before the Senate that he had borrowed it from McLean of Washington. Later, on January 11, 1924, McLean admitted that this was not true; and finally on February 1, 1924, Doheny confessed that he had loaned $100,000 to Fall. On January 21, 1924, Archibald Roosevelt, in the employ of the Sinclair Oil Company, testified that Mr. Sinclair's private secretary had admitted the payment to Fall of $68,000. To justify himself, Mr. Walberg, the private secretary of Mr. Sinclair, testified that he had really been talking about six or eight cows, and that Mr. Roosevelt got that confused with $68,000.

BY the first of February, 1924, any minister who was reading the press could have known the truth in regard to the bribery and corruption. In March the public hearings began, and so involved the Attorney General, Mr. Daugherty, that he was finally forced to resign. By the end of March it was apparent that Attorney General Daugherty was the most dangerous executive that the Department of Justice had ever had. In the light of this moral gangrene which had eaten its way into the cabinet of the United States we can now appraise the prophetic character of our religious periodicals by noting their attitude towards the scandal during all of 1924. If there were ever a time in our history when a national disgrace should have been used to call back the manhood of the nation to righteousness, it was during that year. I make no pretense that the periodicals examined are representative of all, but they do include samples from most of the leading denominations. Let us consider in detail their reactions.

The Roman Catholic Weekly *America* seemed to be far ahead of most Protestant periodicals. As early as February 9 it carried an editorial under the title "Capitalists in Washington," which contained a stern denunciation of both Fall and Doheny, the former of whom it called "a broken, wholly discredited man." It opened with the sentences: "Washington now faces a scandal without parallel since the free and easy days of President Grant's Secretary Belknap," and concluded, "Reds, ranters, and radicals will not do the country much harm, but officials in high places who dicker and bargain with capitalists can soon undermine all confidence in the government."

Again on March 8 it commented on "Tempests and Reforms," and on March 15 said: "If honor can't put a stop to this failure to recognize that public office is for all time a public trust, and not primarily a means of heaping up wealth, let us have a law which will force our ex-statesmen to make their choice between disinterestedness and venality, between greed and the penitentiary."

On April 19 it declared: "We seem to be nearing the stage in which popular government is to be exchanged for government by plutocracy." On March 3 another editorial headed, "Turn on the Light," endorsed Senator Walsh's resolution calling for publicity about contributions to political campaigns.

THE Christian Advocate is one of the more liberal Methodist periodicals. It runs regular articles on events in Washington by H. E. Woolever of the National Methodist Press. Naturally this series could not overlook oil and on February 7 it declared events must decide the question of guilt, and on the 14th, "thoughtful citizens await definite legal findings before charging any individual with so heinous a crime." The next week there was an article telling us "What is a Grafter?" which does not mention Secretary Fall, Sinclair, or oil. On March 30 the leading editorial urged us to "Have Faith in Men." On March 20, Woolever's article headed, "The Senate's Humiliation," said, "It is a humiliating national scene to observe the great legislative body of the country . . . held up for hours at a time by such irrelevant and misleading addresses as certain Senators seem inclined to bore the people with." On April 3, there was an editorial on "The Lesson of the Scandals," which declared, "apart from the sanctions of the religion of Christ enforced by precept and by holy living and vitalized by the regenerating power of the holy spirit we see no adequate defense." After this the *Advocate* relapsed into a profound silence.

The Episcopal Recorder of the Reformed Episcopal Church is quite different. It had nothing regarding the corruption, but in the September issue it grandiloquently declared: "It is the present age that needs interpreting, and not that of two generations ago. Sin and error as they clothe themselves today need new diagnoses; and the remedy of the changeless gospel in its ever fresh application to changing conditions is the foremost need of our day. Are we really doing this? One of Europe's great political leaders reminds us that the churches are in danger of "sticking in dugouts on abandoned battlefields." We sometimes fear that the church is not only in danger of doing this, but is actually doing it, and that much of its impotence and lack of

growth are due to this." All this is excellent, but it makes humorous reading in the light of the *Recorder's* profound silence on one of the outstanding moral issues of the year.

The Churchman (Episcopalian) had room for articles on the problems of religion and culture, and on "Christ and the New Patriotism," which were singularly silent on oil. While it did not use the moral opportunity of the oil scandals to endorse the efforts of those who were trying to purify the nation, it printed on March 8 an editorial on "Unbridled Tongues," in which it said: "By broadcasting gossip which he acknowledged to be gossip only, Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip has done one valuable service. He has shown that the best qualities in men and women condemn the unbridled tongue that seeks to blacken character, for the public has not been slow to express its disapproval and its resentment." In other words, *The Churchman* took occasion to condemn, not the honorable Secretary Fall, nor the distinguished Daugherty, but to condemn the one millionaire in America who had made himself conspicuous by aiding in the investigation of the national robberies!

The Congregationalist for the year 1924 has nothing in its index which refers to the scandal except an editorial entitled "National Resources Without a Scandal," which dealt with the perfectly safe topic of irrigation. However, on February 28 *The Congregationalist* did run an editorial on "The Politics of Murder" which contained these significant words: "The primary thing is the condemnation of guilt and self-seeking, and the clear perception that guilt and self-seeking on the part of professed rulers and preservers of nations, in a broken and bleeding world, is equivalent to treachery and murder." It was then silent until March 27, when it had a cautious editorial entitled "How Wide and How Deep."

The Christian Register had nothing until February 7 when it had a general editorial attempting to show that church members must take part in politics. There was silence until February 28, when strangely enough, instead of attacking the corruption at Washington, it attacked the reformers who were "defaming others." However, on March 6 it had a fearless statement entitled "Cleanse the Temple" in which it said: "Let us (the people) not talk much about giving certain men a fair trial. We take for granted they must have that. But infinitely more important than the desires of individuals is the righting of the nation's monstrous wrongs. It is not a time for the temporizing plea of mercy. It is a time for a ringing denunciation of the gross wickedness by a tribune of the people."

The Christian Herald through its "World News of the Week" devoted space to the oil investigations in February, but its editorial page was discreetly silent, preferring to comment on "How to Get Clean Plays," and "Popular Interest in Religion." However, on March 1 appeared an editorial entitled "Oil—and Other Things," with a luke-warm commendation of the Senate investigations. "Certainly the Senate committee cannot stop until the whole unsavoury story is spread out for the judgment of the American people," but it warns its readers not to "pillory those against whom a wavering finger of suspicion points without giving them their day in court."

On March 22, the disclosures brought forth an editorial on "The Greatest Need," in which the writer demanded "A Holy Spirit revival . . . an upheaval so tremendous that men in Congress shall stop their villification of one another and let prayer have the right of way even in Washington. A revival so mighty that newspapers shall omit scandals and publish the good tidings."

The *Herald* continued to deplore these revelations of corruption and bribery as undermining the public confidence, and in an editorial on March 29 entitled "Prophets of Evil" remarks: "Heaven knows there may be matter enough with all of them [church, ministers, Washington, etc.]. But why harp on it all the time? Our magazines and dailies and pulpits and platforms and conversation have reached the saturation point of the denunciation habit. Why magnify so continually the weakness of our world and not call attention to the splendid and the noble and the positively good that are always in the majority?" These constitute the *Herald's* sole comments on the Senate investigations.

The Continent, a Presbyterian weekly, was too busy for the most part with the strife taking place within its own ranks between liberals and fundamentalists to have much to spare for the nation's efforts, though it found time for several articles on English and Russian politics, and another on conditions in South America. The first notice of the scandals is in an editorial on March 13 entitled "Conscience is a Living Guard." It begins: "The revolt against corruption which has so powerfully stirred the popular mind in this country since revelations were made of certain suspicious deals in oil, witnesses cheeringly to the aliveness of conscience in America." But it adds: "The real threat to the stability of American government just now is to be guarded against rather in the opposite direction. Temporarily —and only temporarily we trust—the public temper has grown so fierce against wrongdoers that it is willing to denounce with reckless precipitancy every individual against whom even gossipy insinuations have been thrown forth."

But on April 3 under the title "Failed Grossly as Law Officer," it had this amazing comment: "In some respects the worst of all the staggering things shown up by the manifold investigations in Washington is the apparent fact that the Attorney General of the United

States (along with certain other members of the cabinet, and perhaps even President Harding) watched the showing in Washington of a prize fight film that he (and they) knew to have been brought there in violation of federal law."

After this it subsides into complete silence, though a few weeks later the cover design showed a picture of Christ driving out the money changers; and it ran articles on "Courage for Christians," and on "What Power Sincerity Imparts," which kept at a safe distance from all controversial topics.

The only organ of all the protestant churches is the *Federal Council Bulletin.* I was delighted when I found in the March and April numbers an article entitled "Personal Religion and Public Righteousness," but was disappointed to find nothing about government. In July and August my curiosity was aroused by an article entitled "The Church in Political Affairs." Again, however, I did not find one word about the national scandals; but the article did make the point that the church should never become involved in partisan politics. In the light of the fact that many newspapers throughout the country were vigorously attacking anyone who denounced the oil scandals as taking part in partisan politics, this is significant.

Association Men, the official organ of the Y.M.C.A. of the United States was completely silent on oil for all of 1924. However, in February an article appeared lauding the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. Their workers had once been "wage slaves," now "their talk is of dividends and hours." In April there is an article on "Better Days in Farm Lands," and "Hitting the Radio Trail." In June there was an article entitled "Can Europe Hold Together?" which analyzed the financial debauch of Europe. Then there was an article lauding the out-door world entitled "Open Spaces and Deep Silences." In August there were articles on "Walter Head, Financier," and "A Thousand Per Cent Efficiency." In September an article on "Heart Beats of America" contained no mention of the heart beats of those who were attempting to cleanse our national life. In October I thought I had surely discovered an article on the scandal entitled "Citizenship Needs a Self-Starter," but was mistaken.

It is possible to understand how some churches might be relatively silent on moral issues, since it is their theory that they should deal exclusively with things of the spirit, but the Y.M.C.A. prides itself on dealing with social and civic problems.

The Christian Century from the beginning of the revelations took a vigorous stand. On February 14th an editorial entitled "The Background of Mr. Fall," discussing the somewhat dubious political past of the ex-secretary remarks that "without exulting over the fate that has overtaken Mr. Fall, it is hard not to trace some connection between his present position and his former role in public life."

A fortnight later in an editorial entitled "Normalcy at Washington," it declares that "in the scandalous situation uncovered at Washington the nation is getting what it bargained for. It is inevitable that any slackening of purpose fairly to face new problems and fairly to solve them with high moral endeavour should be accompanied by a slump in official morality. The plea for normalcy which became the campaign cry upon which the present administration came into power, was a plea dictated primarily by moral fatigue."

On March 13th an article, "Suppose it were Russia" asks what Americans would be saying if the Washington corruption had happened in Moscow. It points out the incongruity of the United States' refusal to recognize Russia on moral grounds in the face of the corruption being uncovered in Washington.

An editorial on March 27th on "American Political Morality" warns its readers of the danger of missing the larger issues involved in the Washington scandals in considerations of individual guilt or innocence. "We need to see clearly that it presents us with a choice: either we strike now to restore the standards of morality among public servants to their former heights, or we resign the republic to endless inner exploitation."

More than once during the presidential campaign of the autumn it pointed out that if public life were to be cleansed of corruption Christians must take a keener and more effective interest in public affairs, and make their influence felt.

WHILE *The Outlook* is not primarily a religious paper, it was founded by an eminent Congregational minister. On February 20 it remarks: "In the investigations at Washington over the leasing of the naval oil reserves there is nothing more disheartening than the state of mind and attitude of the investigators. . . . By demanding without impeachment or any form of trial, without even a hearing, the resignation of Secretary Denby of the Navy, Congress has raised not only a constitutional question, but also even a question of elementary fairness . . . the procedure is little less than political lynching."

On March 22, its Washington correspondent wrote: "Politics has practically driven constructive thought and the chance of constructive legislation out of sight." He fears also "that public confidence will be destroyed far beyond what is right by revelations" of things which "may look bad to inflamed minds, but are actually blameless."

In the issue of April 2, the editors make this comment: "If either the oil or the Daugherty investigation seemed likely to lead to any real correction of evil, people would be more tolerant of what is going on now in

Washington. Unfortunately the mass of hearsay and gossip is as likely to cover up evil as to expose it, and to serve, not the public interest, but the interest of partisan politicians."

Referring to the attack on Daugherty, *The Outlook* says: "The course of the Senate has been such as to bury truth in a mass of rumor and scandal mongering . . . the proceedings at Washington have brought as much discredit upon Congress as upon any branch of the government. The nation is sick and tired of Congressional snooping."

On April 16, there is an article by Mr. Frost, the Washington correspondent, entitled "Capping the Mud Gusher," which expresses relief that the political atmosphere is clearing, and that some of the inquiries are to be dropped. "The whole campaign was based on a calculation that the country had been so shocked into hysteria that it would accept suspicions, unfair and unfounded charges, even palpable lies, as real evidence, and on this basis would convict honest men, the whole administration, and the Republican party in general." The writer concludes, however, "That the scandals were well worth while," but hopes that they have "given lessons not only in honest government, which were badly needed, but in decency in politics, a thing almost as devoutly to be wished." Again on October 1, the editors condemn the "pernicious nature of government by investigation," and remark: "This miserable mixture of statement by Means will serve a good purpose . . . if it calls forcibly to the attention of the people the danger of investigations such as the one conducted by Senator Wheeler."

THE church periodicals examined were at least not as bad as some of the secular weeklies on this oil issue, although on the whole falling far behind *The New Republic* or *The Nation.* As an illustration of one of the outside magazines consider the record of *The National Republican.* It was more venomous against Senator Walsh and Senator Wheeler than any other periodical the writer has seen. On February 16, in an article entitled "Coolidge Thwarts the Lynchers" it declares that the evidence against Fall and Denby "is about 95% bunk as far as availability in a civil or criminal court is concerned."

On March 8, it had an article entitled "Constitution or Checka" trying to link up some of the United States senators in Washington with the Bolshevik terroristic organization in Moscow. On April 12, it began its attack on Senator Wheeler which culminated in the securing of false evidence and his complete vindication in the courts of the United States.

But the record shows the serious danger which faces many outstanding American religious periodicals. Will they keep silent until the United States Supreme Court has spoken three or four years after an event? Is religion "the opium of the people?"

The Prisoner

A Pacifist Play

ONE of the few pacifist plays to be produced during the last ten years is *The Prisoner,* by Emil Bernhard, translated by Alexander Berkman, now being played daily at the Provincetown Playhouse. It is a drama of 1917 Russia shortly before the Revolution. Boris Tverskoy, played superbly by Harold Johnsrud, is a political prisoner through his stated belief that the first command on every person is "thou shalt not kill." His life lived on this principle, as it applies not only to the taking of physical life, but to every human relationship which affects personality and spirit, had a profound effect on the Russian army and navy. In their eyes he became a sainted leader and they laid down their arms and refused to fight. Tverskoy was sent to Siberia, and here the play begins. In a narrow prison corridor the conflicting philosophies of life, pacifism dramatized in this prisoner, and glory, honor and victory in his prison warden, struggle mightly for supremacy. Five are involved in this terrific effort to find life—the prisoner, his warden, played by Reginald Goode, a prison guard, played by William Challee, the Warden's wife by Pauline Moore, Irene Polosova a student leader in the oncoming revolution, by Hilda Vaughn. The five have a tremendous task. The play demands all sorts of emotional expression and drive. When I saw it they were each giving a strong and violent interpretation, but through it ran balance and restraint which made the production convincing. There is great dramatic possibility in the portrayal of the transforming of human life; Emil Bernhard has used it well. And some of his lines are exquisite.

AGNES A. SHARP

Grounds for Pacifism

The following statement is one of a series we are reprinting from a symposium issued in England by the No More War Movement, giving reasons for faith in that movement's drastic opposition to war.

Because personal refusal of war service by the *people* will goad governments into arbitration, disarmament and loyalty to the League of Nations. Also because it is impossible without *total* war resistance to cut at the roots of military propaganda and the perversion of science, and to achieve the general outlook which regards war, like slavery, as an outworn barbarity. Nor, otherwise, can men's energies be directed to the all-absorbing constructive efforts which Peace demands.—MARGARET LLEWELYN DAVIES, *Ex-General Secretary, Women's Cooperative Guild; Ex-President, Cooperative Congress.*

Clippings

So This Is Prosperity Center

More than 93,000,000 people out of 117,000,000 living in the United States in 1926 had about $500 of income apiece.—*Professor Irving Fisher,* New York Times, *November 26, 1927.*

Reverence for Law in Colorado

There *has* been violence in the strike. The Saturday night before the strike was called, Walsenburg business men met and decided to "run the wobblies out of town." With Mayor Pritchard leading, some 80 men marched to the I. W. W. hall, shot out the windows, smashed in the door, and took private records out and burned them.—*Frank L. Palmer,* The Nation, *December 7, 1927, p. 623.*

Dying for a Slogan

That "war to end war" was merely a slogan of propaganda seems to be established by the continuous disturbed conditions of the World.—*Major General Fox Conner,* North American Review, *January, 1928. p. 1.*

If So, Lenin Was a Defender of Capitalism

The Fascist State is a people's state, and, as such, the democratic State *par excellence—Giovanni Gentile,* Foreign Affairs, *January, 1928, p. 302.*

Debunking "Service"

The only reason for being in business is your annual net profit—the artistic successes don't count.—*Advertisement of the* Chicago Tribune *in other newspapers, January 5th, 1928.*

Even the Wishbone

If there is any atmosphere in God's world that weakens a man's backbone, it is the atmosphere of Washington.—*Senator William E. Borah, in the Senate, March 16th, 1925.*

Was This Money Earned?

The largest mortgage company in the country is more than thirty years old. It has paid over 3,500 per cent in dividends and has averaged in yearly dividends about 128 per cent. An original investment in that company of $1,000 received $35,000 in dividends. The records of other mortgage companies are equally remarkable.—*Advertisement of Curtis, Ryan and Company.*

Is This True Prophesying?

Man is not yet ready to abolish war. Such an Utopian vision is fantastic with our present degree of civilization. Not that it is impossible, but very improbable. When the next war is declared, three-fourths of our present peace-loving pacifists will hop on the bandwagon and shout with the militarists. . . . If, on tomorrow the forces of hell are seen in France or Mexico, they will do the same thing there, these sweet, Christ-like, peace-loving pacifists of ours.—*James W. Ivy,* The Messenger, *August, 1927, p. 262.*

Our readers are urged to send in significant "Clippings" from which we may make selections for future issues.

Why?

Agitation against the Platt Amendment is perennial in Cuba.—*O.,* Foreign Affairs, *January, 1928, p. 231.*

Good Times A-Coming

The attention of those who were never quite satisfied with the deal that science got during the World War is directed to the recent remarks of William L. Saunders, Chairman of the Naval Consulting Board, apropos of an aerial torpedo which would be capable of flying a hundred miles with enough TNT to "blow a small town inside out."

"Unfortunately," Mr. Saunders said, "this perfectly fine experiment was stopped by the armistice. If that had not come, we would have had 10,000 flying guns, which could have been sent into enemy forces in no time."

All of which goes to show what a mess that old armistice made of everything. Now all we can do is to sit and wait for the next war to begin. Then, bring on your 10,000 flying guns and let 'er rip!

Boy, oh, boy, what fun!—Life, *January 20, 1927.*

Explaining to God

The lapse of twenty centuries changed only the outline of the social problems faced by Jesus. His first great principle, which in our more devout moments we espouse, was directly against racial bigotry and its inevitable consequence of conflict and personal debasement. . . . If He should come again it is not unlikely that He would be surprised to find the subscribers to His principle of the Universal Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, sending up their prayers from rigidly segregated altars, explaining to God that they "are faced by a condition not a theory."—Opportunity, *December, 1927.*

Bankers Take Notice

"Those whom we so blithely call criminals drift into crime as naturally as others drift into college. Crime becomes their profession for lack of any other. Ninety per cent of the crime in the world could be got rid of if we only cared to find the way. . . . They began their carrers, most of them as youths, when they went out on the streets with no equipment for the important job of living. You will find few lawyers or doctors in our prisons, few bankers, and none until the bank is broke. You find few carpenters or bricklayers, or even plumbers. Men go to prison first and last because of the environment and circumstances about them over which they have no control.—*Clarence Darrow, quoted in the* New York Times, *December 30, 1927.*

Tell That to the Marines

How many names once flung with contempt at a few men ahead of their time have become words clothed with honor! It was a reproach to be called a Nazarene. Once to bear the name Christian was to be despised. It cost something centuries ago to be known as a Protestant. To be an Abolitionist less than a hundred years ago in Massachusetts nearly cost one man his life when he was dragged through Boston's streets with a rope around him. Some children may yet live to say with no sense of shame, "My father was a Pacifist."—Our Dumb Animals, *January, 1928.*

When the War Ended!

SYDNEY STRONG

IN 1917, I was pastor of the Queen Anne Congregational Church in Seattle. The war was still on. Representative Americans were asked to state their expectations and hopes—"when the war ends"—in religion, industry, or in politics, the statements to be read at a New Year's meeting.

Ten years have passed. One third of the 125 who responded are dead. The statements of some, both the dead and the living, are given here. Whatever lesson there is to be drawn will be left to the reader.

Lyman Abbott

Editor, The Outlook

I am hoping after the war for a better understanding among all the peoples of the civilized world, of the spirit of democracy, and for a mutual respect for each other's rights, and a natural consideration for each other's welfare as a basis for enduring international peace.

James A. Blaisdell

President, Pomona College

To put it all in a single paragraph: It seems to me certain that this upturning of the encrusted soil of the world and the vast and urgent mingling of races and opinions must eventuate in the development of a new, a freer, a more spontaneous and a more universal social order, in which shall dwell a larger diffusion of reason and goodness.

William E. Borah

United States Senator

I hope when the war shall have ended that the fundamental principle of self government will obtain recognition throughout the world; that no people will thereafter seek to dominate and control another people and every nation shall have the privilege of working out its own destiny and to enjoy a form of government of its own choosing.

Edward I. Bosworth

Dean, Oberlin Seminary

It seems to me clear that God will use a phenomenon so stupendous as the World War to produce results correspondingly stupendous. The World War is not too big a phenomenon for Him to manage. It seems possible even at present to see that God through the war is teaching the strong nations of the earth a spirit of humility and respect for the weak that is essential to a Christian world brotherhood.

Rev. Dan F. Bradley

Cleveland

I am hoping after the war that people will be so sick of it—and so ashamed of it—that they will insist that their government shall organize politically to make it impossible again, forever.

In industry I hope to say my humble word in favor of distributing more justly the rewards of labor, and preventing the aggregation in single hands of enormous wealth in land or mine, or forests, or water power or any of the natural resources which ought to belong to all. It ought never again be possible to record that there were 296 incomes of over a million in America.

Rev. Francis E. Clark

President, United Society of Christian Endeavor, Boston

I am a born optimist, and I am looking for better things after the war, and I do not believe that my optimism is born altogether of my hopes.

In religion I am looking for a deeper sense of the reality of things. I do not think that the hundreds of thousands of Christian men who will go to the front will return without a new sense of the vital importance of religion in their lives.

In industry, I am looking for a larger realization of the absolute necessity of cooperation between labor and capital if our civilization is to survive and improve.

W. E. B. Dubois

Editor, the Crisis

After the war I am hoping that the Christian Church will no longer allow itself to be a cat's-paw for this wholesale theft of the wealth, work, and souls of the darker nations by capitalistic exploitation; in other words, I trust that the federation of the world will include Negroes.

Mrs. Joseph Fels

New York City

To me, the great thing that seems reasonably certain as the result of the war is the emergence of the common man and his interests as the dominant force in society. The emergence of the common man as a dominant factor is the beginning of struggle, not the end of it. His final victory will mean that every human being shall thenceforth enjoy the maximum of well-being and freedom without which spiritual progress is all but impossible.

We had come to look upon nationalism and patriotism as archaic things, but it is these that are bringing the common man into his heritage. Rather than abandon them, the ruling class of every nation is being forced to make concession after concession to those masses, who, in this war as never before, must cooperate in mine and factory as well as in the armies, if the national enterprise is to succeed.

William H. Foster

President, Reed College

I look for a world order based on a clearer conception of the futility of rival armaments in preventing wars, the futility of brute force in settling disputes, the futility of selfishness in gaining happiness.

David Starr Jordan

Chancellor Emeritus, Stanford University

I am hoping to see the end of the dynastic state, for that is the tap root of war. It rests on three necessary supports which peace tends to weaken. They are force, intrigue, superstition—the army, the secret agent, and the state church. The dynastic state could not maintain itself without the menace, the inspiration, the hope, the fear, of foreign war. "Big Business" does not create the war machine: it uses it when ready at its hand, and militarism could not long endure except as a branch of absolutism.

Lynn J. Frazier
Governor, North Dakota

That our government will be more democratic than ever before. That the common people, the workers, will assert their rights by electing to office men who will be truly representative of the people.

Also that there will be a much greater spirit of cooperation than ever before.

Rev. Washington Gladden
Columbus

If after the war the church keeps on with the same old religion, there will be the same old hell on earth that religious leaders have been preparing for centuries, the full fruit of which we are gathering now.

The church must cease to sanction those principles of militaristic and atheistic nationalism by which the rulers of the earth have so long kept the world at war.

We must not wait till after the war. That may be too late. Is not now the accepted time?

Rev. F. W. Gunsaulus
Chicago

I am expecting a victory for everything that constitutional government has stood for in the past. I am hoping for the American soul rather than the American body to be one, intellectually and spiritually, while the terrible war continues. The war will lose its terror, as soon as we have won the front, in our thought that Jesus believed and died for the faith that man is capable of self-government under the grace of God.

W. L. Jones
United States Senator

I am hoping with an intense hope that an absolute guarantee against war between civilized and Christian nations will be secured and that the expense of military establishments may be diverted to the pursuit of peace and the uplift and betterment of human conditions.

Rabbi Judah Magnes
New York

That the political state shall not be the all devouring Moloch, but that the free men of a free world shall actually have the freedom of being loyal to the moral and religious sanctions of their lives.

Stephen B. L. Penrose
President, Whitman College

After the war I am expecting and hoping for:

(a) A new economic order based not on economic determination, but on equal opportunity for all.

(b) A new political order based not on tradition or the mailed fist, but on democracy and liberty with justice.

(c) A new social order involving (1) a new morality, (2) a new education, and (3) a new organization of religion.

Bishop Samuel Fallows
Chicago

I am hoping to see a new political heaven and a regenerated earth at the close of this war.

I am hoping to see a league of nations with the weakest and the humblest having its place in the sun.

I am expecting to see a closer relation between capital and labor so that labor shall have its full share in the profits of capital.

I am expecting to see a Jewish republic in Palestine.

I am hoping to see a closer union between churches of every faith.

Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch
Rochester

I hope for the spread of political democracy in all nations partly by change in character experienced by the men and women who have learned to stand together.

I expect social struggles between Property and the People over the question who is to bear the taxes and public debts.

I expect all governments to retain some of the industrial functions taken over in the war, and to establish government monopolies in order to pay the bonded interest from the income. For the same reason the unearned increment in land will be taken by taxation.

I believe a minority of Christians will come out of the war with a much firmer belief in the distinctive teaching of Jesus and with a more radical gospel. How the rank and file of the church will come out I do not know.

John D. Work
Former United States Senator

There is to me just one hope growing out of the fearful conditions that confront us. It is this: That this dreadful holocaust of war may burn out the passions, the hatred, the selfishness and greed of mankind, at least to such an extent as to make another great war impossible.

J. Allen Smith
University of Washington

That we may have more real democracy in both politics and industry.

Anna Howard Shaw
Council of National Defense

I can very readily tell you at least one or two of the changes toward which I am looking after the war is over; the first of which is a deeper spiritual awakening and a greater recognition of the fact that the government of one's life and the government of one's country cannot be wholly separated.

I think there will be a decided reformation in the churches after the war is over, and men and women ministers will realize that it is much more important to live right today and to thoroughly comprehend our obligation to each other now than to dwell upon the lives of Abraham, Jacob and Isaac.

Charles F. Thwing
President of Western Reserve University

After the war I do expect a broader and deeper type of religion that will take hold of the things universal and eternal. I venture to think it will be the religion that represents responsibility for most serious communal interests. This religion stands for the incarnation of the divine being. It represents God on the earth. It stands for that spirit in man which differentiates him both from things and from brutes.

Oswald Garrison Villard
New York Evening Post

I hope for an entirely reorganized church, or, failing that, the closing out of the Christian religion as a proved failure—proved by the war as to the wickedness of which it keeps all too often a shameless silence.

In politics, I hope for free trade, disarmament, and international government upon the governmental principle of Abraham Lincoln, that "no man is good enough to govern any other man without that man's consent."

Food and Population in Japan

INAZO NITOBE

I WONDER if any single sober statement of a scientific discovery has stirred up more passion than the so-called Malthusian law of population? The checks which he coolly and reverently enunciated have called forth holy indignation in some quarters and sardonic smiles in others. I am afraid that the question is now being dragged out of the sphere of biology and ethics into the field of international politics, and when any subject assumes this phase, it falls so easily into the hands of scare-mongers and alarmists. A prolific race is upheld by them as a source of menace to the whole world.

Japan is considered to be a sinner in this matter. She is represented to the world as a nation increasing enormously in number, far beyond the capacity of the country to feed its progeny. Let us see how far the population of Japan is really an international question.

Japan proper has an area of 388,000 square kilometres—a little larger than Italy. If we include the overseas possessions—Korea, Formosa and Saghalien—the area totals 680,700 square kilometres, equal to the area of Germany, Denmark, Holland and Belgium.

Japan proper is mountainous, making it picturesque and at the same time unfit for extensive agricultural enterprise. Only about 15 per cent. of the entire surface is under cultivation. Agriculture is therefore practised on a very intensive scale. In the southern part three crops are annually taken from the same plot. Science is constantly forcing the land to yield more: it is also turning waste moors into arable land.

In the three decades from 1890 to 1920, there was an increase of 18 per cent. in acreage and of 41 per cent. in production. The total increase due to the two factors amounts to 66 per cent. The prospect of further agricultural improvement lies in several directions; but we are now concerned not with the problem of soil productivity but with food production, and certainly the country is not self-supporting. It imports yearly in round numbers 300,000,000 yen worth of rice, wheat, beans, sugar, eggs and meat; and the consumption of these articles is steadily rising.

The increase of population in Japan is a notable fact. Until about 1880, it seems to have been very slow: for checks both of negative and positive character had kept it within bounds. But in the last half-century it has grown from some 36,000,000 to 60,000,000. (Let it be remembered I confine myself to Japan proper.) The rate of increase has been about 13 per thousand of the population. The density is about 154 per square kilometre, which, high as it is, is much lower than in Belgium (245), Netherlands (204), or England (251). If we take into consideration her colonial possessions, the density of Japan's population is reduced to 114—less than that of Germany (127) or of Italy (125).

BUT it is too hasty a conclusion to draw from this that these densely populated nations are a menace to the world. In the case of Japan there is a safety-valve in her colonies, thanks to their propinquity. Korea and Formosa supply a large quantity of rice and sugar, and can be made by agricultural improvements to supply more. They can also absorb a large number of our surplus population. The present population of Korea is 18,000,000, with a density of 78, and it can support double that number. Compare Formosa—with due respect paid to their climatic differences—with Java. The density of the former is 100 and that of the latter 266.

But the Japanese are not by any means obliged to look only to their overseas possessions for the solution of their population problem. In fact, their psychological inclination is not to budge out of their country. Long centuries of isolation have made them a stay-at-home people and the inertia of the habit exercises still a great influence. Ancestor reverence and family ties confirm the habit. So strong is it that earthquakes and hurricanes do not easily drive them out. If they move at all, they would do so nearer home. Look at the large number of our people yearly returning from America.

The query suggests itself—Can the country support more people?

A careful agronomical survey of the country shows that 2,000,000 hectares can be profitably brought under cultivation, in addition to 6,000,000 already under the plough. When a Japanese looks at the *polders* in Holland, he is ashamed to think of large tracts of land in his own country that are lying waste. These tracts have been neglected because the peasants were so accustomed to intensive farming that they could not adapt their methods to extensive culture. The mountain slopes still afford an abundant margin for new enterprises—afforestation and pasture.

By regulating better the small and numerous partitions of rice-fields, an appreciable number of hectares—some calculate 10 per cent.—can be made available for production instead of being used for paths, as at present. Agricultural science will evolve more produc-

tive varieties of rice and other crops. Mechanical contrivances can, thanks to the electric power generated by our many rivers and cascades, raise water to the higher level of ground which has hitherto been considered unirrigable. A rational system of fertilization is coming more and more into vogue.

To ask whether all these factors in enhancing the food supply can meet the need of the increasing population is to repeat the old question put forth by Malthus himself. The latest studies confirm the belief that for fifty years from hence, assuming the population to grow at the present rate, the country can produce enough to support itself. But bread is not the only factor in the amelioration of the evils of our population.

It requires no great stretch of imagination to suggest other means of combatitng them, as for instance, the encouragement of industries and birth control.

The last two subjects are undoubtedly of immense importance. As to Japan's industrialization, the fact is too well known to dwell upon it here. Regarding birth control, it is thought too delicate a subject to treat in public; but there are evidences to show that it is spreading among us. I have confined my attention in this article exclusively to the problem of food supply, and have indicated that, even from this angle only, the demands of our growing population can be met by rationally husbanding the resources within the bounds of our own country. *

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Fighting the Traffic in Women

FRANK OWEN

EDITOR'S NOTE: *At Geneva, as shown by recent articles in the* New York World *and other papers, a struggle has been going on between those who believe in an open fight on the traffic in women and those in whose countries this traffic amounts practically to an industry. The underlying facts are rendered clearer by this article, written from Geneva by a newspaper man covering the meetings of the League of Nations.*

THOUGH the United States remains outside the fabric of the League, America is taking an ever-increasing interest in its work. American representatives made notable contributions to the success of the World Economic Conference last May which Russia, too, attended. An American citizen has just given two million dollars to the library of the League. America has long made generous grants to the Health Bureau. It is due to the initiative of an American woman that the investigations of the League into the traffic in women were begun. The sum of $75,000 voted by the American Bureau of Social Hygiene made possible their extensive inquiries.

The report of this inquiry, adopted by the Assembly last fall, proves beyond doubt that the abominable traffic in women, known 30 years ago as the "white slave traffic," is still operating in all its old vigor. Submerged by the war, the "souteneur" has reappeared. He has not changed in the years between. Only his methods have been adapted to meet new conditions.

Knowledge has been obtained at first-hand. Not content with the information laid before them by the various governments and welfare societies, the officials of the League charged with this inquiry themselves descended into the underworld. They made contact there with the "souteneurs" and "madames" who have made a business of vice. They frequented, nay, haunted, their dens of infamy. In the opinion of Col. Snow, who directed the inquiry, their lives will never again be safe against the menace of those whose secrets they have discovered and now publish to the world.

The nature of this traffic ought to be plainly stated. It amounts to the procuration by any and every means, of women and girls, and the transportation of them to foreign countries for purposes of prostitution. Its extent is appalling. The Brazilian government calculates that 80 per cent. of the women in that country who engage in this profession are foreigners. In fact, they have been imported into Brazil for that purpose. In 1924 the United States, with all its severe immigration laws, had to deport nearly two hundred of these women who had evaded the laws and slipped into the country.

There are regular "trade routes" along which this muddy stream of traffic passes. The chief "market" is, without doubt, South America, a new country of vast undeveloped possibilities, rich already, and containing a surplus of men who have flocked in as pioneers and adventurers to make their fortunes. The chief hunting ground of the "souteneur" is in Central Europe, impoverished and scarred by war. Hungary and Poland especially have paid a terrible toll in womanhood since 1919. There is a beaten track of human misery and degradation from the heart of Europe to South America.

International conventions, customs barriers, and immigration laws offer difficulties. But the "souteneur" is nothing if not ingenious. He is adept at the art of forging passports and a widespread information service in the underworld keeps him advised of danger.

Some of his victims are already versed in vice, and

are not unwilling to accompany him to more lucrative employment. Often they are defrauded by him or by the "madame" to whom he hands them over. Others are merely foolish girls who are "stage-struck" or want to dance in cabarets. They are engaged to dance in foreign cities where they quickly learn what else is expected of them. How many are forced by circumstances into complaisance is proved by the ordinance of the authorities at Salonika, which draws no distinction whatever between cabaret dancers and common prostitutes. Both are submitted to the same regulations.

Even more unfortunate, for their awakening is more cruel, are the girls the "souteneur" has lured from home with a promise of marriage. Sometimes indeed, there is a marriage, for the "souteneur" does not hesitate to add bigamy to his other crimes if it simplifies matters for him. Occasionally it does, for the legislation of some countries to control this traffic does not extend to the married woman. Travel and immigration are thus facilitated. When he has reached his "market" he hands over his captive for a good price, which may range from $300 to $3,000.

Henceforth the woman is in the toils. She is encouraged to run into debt and she is paid so little that debt is difficult to avoid. Then the control of the "madame" can be tightened, and she can be compelled, to put it brutally, to work longer hours. She can be more easily led to practise unnatural vices because they yield higher profits.

Let there be no mistake. Sordid greed of money is the mainspring of this trade in vice. In the city, the girl from abroad or from the country, in the village the girl from the city, is the novelty. The thing is reduced to a balance-sheet. Foreign women are imported across two continents because foreign women pay. It is not surprising to learn that the drink question is intimately bound up with this problem. That the sale of obscene photographs and publications is deliberately pushed to stimulate the demand. That women and girls are moved regularly from one "licensed" house to another because, in the actual words of a "souteneur" (I quote from the Report before me) "What is old in Naples is new in Palermo."

Not the least terrible feature of this trade in immorality is the youthful age of the majority of its victims. Youth is at a premium. Young girls are wanted because they have longer to live.

Incontrovertible evidence proves that in one country, at least, mothers have sold their own children into this slavery.

The Report indicts not only the ghoulish traffickers in flesh, but by implication, the civilized society of the world. If these things can happen, as they do happen, it is because we have by neglect permitted them.

He would be mad who undertook to cleanse society of vice. He would be mean who would not strike a blow to rid it of a trade in vice. The remedies are to hand if the world will use them. Old conventions must be energetically enforced—as they have not been. New ones must be framed. Ports and frontier-towns watched and the foreign prostitute repatriated when she is discovered. The age of consent and age of marriage equalized, and both raised. Tolerated vice must end. Licensed "houses" do not "localize" vice or protect the health of communities. They serve only as links in a chain of depots over the world. The United States, Australia, Canada, Denmark, Sweden, South Africa and Germany have abolished the system. If the chain can be broken, the trade of the "souteneur" will everywhere be hampered, and the cause of humanity advanced.

Procuration is only partially penalized by international convention. The girl of less than 16 is protected. But unless force or fraud is proved the woman is left unguarded. The gap must be closed. Procuration of every kind must be "outlawed" as a crime.

At Geneva devoted women are fighting the battle of mothers the world over. Nothing the League can advocate will be effective unless the nations co-operate. It is the plain duty of every woman to urge upon her government in season and out of season the vigorous enforcement of measures against the beasts who ply the vilest trade in the world.

S-4

FORTY snuffed souls. We called them stoic
Who filled Mars' belly in time of peace.
Forty thousand not less heroic
Refuse all wars until war shall cease.

Forty snuffed souls from corpses are risen,
Hallowed by the saints and god of wars.
Forty dozen, who rotten in prison,
Refuse to rise until Heaven blast Mars.

Militarists weep that forty died thus
Who might have been shattered by battles' Lord.
Only on the Cross One weeps with us
Whose price to peace is a legal sword.

Yet while they probe us with a lance, while they jeer,
Give sponged vinegar, and nail our hands,
We shall not bargain who know that near
Our thorn-crowned foreheads a Brother stands.

Forty snuffed souls. But not in vain,
If up from their ashes, like a phoenix, flies
A spirit new-summoned from the shame and pain,
White light born in forty million eyes.

BENJAMIN MUSSER.

Mexican Ambassadors of Good Will

LOUISE F. SHIELDS

EVERY Mexican who works in the United States and then returns to his own country serves his people as an interpreter of American life and attitudes. He is shaping the opinion which will some day govern Mexican diplomacy in relation to the United States. Employers and neighbors of these laborers may determine whether they shall return to Mexico as ambassadors of good-will or as emissaries of hatred and strife.

We are considering the 2,000,000 laborers who came to the United States to escape the revolutionary turmoil of their own country following Diaz' removal in 1910, or drawn later by the labor vacuum of the world-war period and of the post-war quota-bar on European immigration. They have been lured by tales of higher wages, better schools, and opportunity for their children's social advancement without class-barriers, and by motion pictures of the palaces and automobiles which await the ambitious and industrious in the United States.

California has 350,000 of these Mexican laborers, Texas 550,000, New Mexico 80,000, Colorado 70,000, Arizona 60,000 and Kansas 40,000. States further north report them in beet harvests or other agriculture, on railroads, in steel plants or automobile factories.

WHAT impression of the United States are we giving to these Mexicans? When we meet them in the street cars, do we draw aside our skirts, or do we welcome them to share the seat? Have we ever taken time to call "across the track," or "down the wash," or out on the ranch irrigation ditch bank, to make friends with these olive-skinned, or possibly fair-skinned Mexicans whose labor harvests our oranges, cotton, nuts, grapes and canteloupes?

A true spirit of *noblesse oblige* will lead us to acknowledge the lessons we may learn from our Mexican neighbors, in courtesy, love of beauty and persistence in seeking to create it, contentment, patience, and skill of hands.

To bring the Mexican workers to the American standard of living, more is needed than fair wages and decent living quarters. The manager of a large fruit company in the Imperial Valley built houses for his field workers according to specifications of the California Housing and Immigration Commission. One cold morning he asked his foreman if the workers seemed comfortable in their new houses. The foreman replied, "Houses! There's nary one slept there. All the help crawled into the hay because they's used to it!" The laborer will come to a higher standard of hygienic living only through a friendly demonstration of the better equipment.

Of the 350,000 Mexicans in California, many are moving about the state for work in the twelve months' succession of harvests, with practically no employment service except from labor contractors of their own nationality, usually ignorant and often dishonest. Twenty to thirty per cent of the seasonal laborers' time is spent in moving from district to district in search of employment. Our part as good neighbors surely impells us to provide an employment service for agricultural jobs, which will save their loss of time and money for gasoline.

Children are transferred to three or four or even a dozen schools a year and often find the district school buildings barely large enough for the resident children. They are growing up homeless and without any sense of community responsibility. Carmen Luna replied to the question,

"Where were you born?"

"No. I wasn't borned in Spain, nor in San Francisco, either, but some other place. Oh, yes, I was borned in the prunes."

Many a child remembers the prunes, walnuts or cotton better than the names of the places where his migratory parents stop.

Certain agriculturists are starting labor camps on their land where they permit the workers to live even while employed on neighboring ranches, and where the wives and children may stay while the bread winners are traveling far for seasonal work. A bit of a home to return to, in the San Joaquin or the Imperial Valley, gives stability to the family life, even though six months of the year should be spent elsewhere.

The Mexicans who sojourn in our country have more reason to believe our protestations of friendship when they come in touch with such movements as the "Friends of the Mexicans," who meet every fall at Pomona College, Claremont, California, for mutual understanding and for a sharing of the two national cultures; and as they see the interchange of students between the schools of the two republics. Pomona enrolled in its 1926 summer session, fourteen teachers from Sonora and Baja, California, and two teachers from Mexico City, and sent two of her own Pomona students to the summer session of the Universidad Nacional at the Mexican capital.

A joint committee of teachers on the American and the Mexican sides of the Imperial Valley has recently begun to promote inter-scholastic activities and an exchange of social courtesies, and of musical, literary and patriotic programs.

All of us who have any contact with the Mexican laborers may radiate the spirit of that organization known as the "Friends of the Mexicans," which announces its purpose, "to hasten the day when the suspicion and distrust which have too much characterized relations between the United States and Mexico shall be superseded by an understanding based upon the practice of an intelligent friendship in all personal and social contacts."

A Step Toward Unity

Merger of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order With the Fellowship of Reconciliation

TWO Fellowships, close together always and never conceived of as rivals, the F. O. R. and the F. C. S. O. have been supplementing each other in independent work for five years. Both groups have been committed to a way of life involving basic changes in human relationships; the difference between the two lay primarily in the fact that the F. O. R. interpreted that commitment to necessitate abstention from any part in war. Many members of each were also members of the other. And now following a ballot of the F. C. S. O., members of that group are merging with the F. O. R. In order to bring into fellowship, for reciprocal benefit, those who share many but not all the aims and principles of the F. O. R., such members of the F. C. S. O.—and any other interested people—have been asked to join as Associates.

Before the merger had been contemplated, a committee of the F. O. R. had been working on a new statement of purpose, better to clarify its point of view. This statement has been approved by the Executive Committee and Council of the F. O. R. and its use as an alternate statement authorized, pending confirmation of it by the next annual conference. The statement follows:

THE Fellowship of Reconciliation is a group of men and women of many nations and races who recognize the unity of the world-wide human family. They wish to live in the spirit of this unity, believing that it needs the contribution of every race and group. It is their purpose to explore through fellowship the possibilities of love for discovering truth, for dispelling antagonisms, and for reconciling people, despite all differences, in a friendly society.

Without binding themselves to any exact form of words the members of the Fellowship are in general agreement on the following points:

That love as disclosed in the life, teachings, and death of Jesus is the sufficient basis of a true society, and the effective power for overcoming evil and transforming human life;

That this love steadfastly seeks to create a social order which assures to everyone the means of development for his highest usefulness; eliminates the barriers of class and race; and reconciles conflicting loyalties in dedication of life to the universal kingdom of God;

That since this love must work through men and women, it is essential that those who believe in it should attempt to practise it unswervingly, and take the risks involved in such a way of life in a world which does not yet accept it;

That since the method of war inevitably involves violation of these principles and disregard of the supreme value of personality, the members of the Fellowship find themselves unable to take part in it or give it sanction; and

That since the existing organization of society engenders motives and methods which violate these principles and hinder the development of character typified by Jesus, they seek through peaceful means such fundamental changes in the spirit of men and in the structure of the social order as shall make possible the full expression of love in all human relations.

It is the aim of the Fellowship to apply these principles constructively, and not to spend itself in mere protest. It is intended that members shall work out personally and in their own way what is involved in this way of life when it is followed in the home, in the education of children, in the treatment of offenders, in the relations of business and industry, and in dealings with people of other races and nations.

There is no program or theory of social reconstruction to which all are committed. There may be occasions when force may be employed if its use is consistent with the method of love and the growth of personality. Members hold different views regarding the employment of physical restraint in civil life, whether by individuals or the police; but they agree in repudiating any use of war, and in helping to establish a world order that will leave no place for war and strife.

The future of the movement depends, not upon a large number of nominal members, but upon those who, accepting the principles fully for themselves, will give time individually and in groups to thinking out what is implied, and will set themselves seriously to apply their conclusions. Such an endeavor inevitably brings a consciousness of insufficiency; but strength and wisdom, far beyond the limits of our present experience, are available to all those who open their lives to the leading of the Spirit of God. It is in fellowship with those who are giving themselves to the realization of his kingdom that God himself is more and more revealed. In the confidence that he is ever waiting to work with men in new and larger ways, the members of the Fellowship would seek with others a fuller expression of his love in all of life.

The address of the Fellowship of Reconciliation is Room 383 Bible House, Astor Place, New York City.

Findings

Who Are the Cowards?

Pilate is of those who, seeing the world's evil, consent to it in the end, because to do otherwise is highly dangerous—*W. G. Peck,* The Divine Revolution, *p. 126.*

Unless There Is Plenty for All

Luxury is indeed possible in the future—innocent and exquisite; luxury for all, and by the help of all: but luxury at present can only be enjoyed by the ignorant; the cruelest man living could not sit at his feast, unless he sat blindfolded.—*John Ruskin,* Unto This Last, *p. 91.*

What If This Were True of Japan?

In a fifteen year period (up to the last available statistics) federal expenditures on military training in civil schools (in the United States) have increased from $725,168 to $10,696,504, a fifteen-fold increase; the number of institutions giving such training, from 57 to 223, a four-fold increase; the army personnel detailed to conduct the training from 85 to 1,809, an eighteen-fold increase; the number of students enrolled, from 29,979 to 119,914, a four-fold increase.—*Roswell P. Barnes,* Militarizing Our Youth, *p. 9.*

Geographical Biology

I once asked one of those easily misled individuals, a bubbling-over patriot, what he (an Englishman) would have done had he been born a German? "What every decent German did—I would have gone to fight," he flashed back. And then he thought a minute. "But I could never have been born a German," was his parting shot of wisdom.—*Benjamin Harrow,* The Romance of the Atom, *page 154.*

Down With Heresy

With a companion, the venerable woman (Elizabeth Hooton, aged seventy) was tied to a cart tail, and ordered beaten through eleven towns. Fearing interference from the home government, the colony had abandoned the public executions of Quakers, but a journey of eighty miles through winter snow, half naked, with one hundred and ten lashes may be considered a pretty good substitute for the death sentence. Terribly bruised from the beatings, the old woman was driven beyond the colony boundary, and once more left without food or shelter in the forest primeval. —*Mary Agnes Best,* Rebel Saints, *p. 252.*

The Bolshevists of Their Day

Great confiscations of Tory estates were carried out by the state legislatures generally in the height of the war. New Hampshire confiscated twenty-eight estates, including the large property of its governor, Sir John Wentworth. In Massachusetts a sweeping act confiscated at one blow all the property of all who had fought against the United States or had even retired into places under British authority without permission from the American government. . . . In New York, all lands and rents of the crown and all estates of fifty-nine named persons were confiscated. . . . The largest estate confiscated was that of the Penn family, proprietaries of Pennsylvania which they estimated at nearly a million pounds, sterling.—*J. Franklin Jameson,* The American Revolution, *pp. 51, 52.*

Our readers are urged to send in significant "Findings" from which we may make selections for future issues.

Who Is the Aggressor?

"The one method by which we can secure, the one method by which we can approximate to an accurate attribution of responsibility for aggression is arbitration. . . . . The test is, Are you willing to arbitrate? The test is, Are you willing to explain? The test is, Will you expose your commitments? Are you afraid of the world? Are you afraid of daylight, a lover of darkness, and timorous lest the world should know what is in your mind? Such is the test, the only test."—*Ramsay MacDonald, quoted in* The Problem of Security, *pp. 103, 104.*

Will It Ever Be Thus ?

I was too honest a man to be a politician and live. . . . I am certain, O men of Athens, that if I had engaged in politics I should have perished long ago, and done no good either to you or to myself. . . . . The truth is that no man who goes to war with you, or any other multitude, honestly striving against the many lawless and unrighteous deeds which are done in a State, will save his life. He who would fight for the right, if he would live even for a brief space, must be a private statesman and not a public one.—*Socrates, quoted by* Norman Angell in The Public Mind, *p. 60.*

How Times Do Change

A scholarly gentleman in Cincinnati once exclaimed to Mrs. Trollope: "Shakespeare, Madam, is obscene, and thank God we are sufficiently advanced to have found it out." At all events, in that city, billiards and card-playing were then unlawful and dancing was viewed with much disfavor. A young German of good breeding gravely offended one of the best families by speaking of "corsets" in the presence of ladies and the manager of a public garden who put up a sign-board bearing the figure of a Swiss maiden in short skirts was forced by the outraged women of the community to have a flounce painted on her ankles. Such was the delicacy to be found in a country where boisterous profanity and hard drinking were as common as sunshine.—*Chas. A. and Mary Beard,* Rise of American Civilization, *Vol. 2, p. 530.*

Nae Wiser Do Ye Stand

In the quadrangle of Edinburgh College stands a captured German field gun. A returned student, who went through some of the fighting, could write on it some years after the Armistice:

"On Learning's mouth I clapped a hand,
Your sons came forth at my command,
An' all you prayed for, preached, an' planned,
My voice made crumble—
An' now, nae wiser do ye stand,
An' nae mair humble."

—*Lt. Commander J. M. Kenworthy,* Peace or War, *page 24.*

Once, but Not Again

Once, in the lifetime of our generation, civilization has escaped its overthrow. It will not survive a second war. The bush and the desert may encroach on our fields and our cities, as they have covered the traces of earlier cultures.—Olives of Endless Age, *by Henry Noel Brailsford, page 430.*

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Al Smith

I WOULD suggest to the Anti-Saloon League that it spend a trifle out of the huge war chest it is reputed to be raising to defeat Al Smith in the buying of each of the above books for all of its executives, in order that they may understand what manner of man this Governor of New York really is. It is just as important that the rest of us should know what elements are in, what forces back of him, for he is by all odds the most significant figure in our contemporary politics. Some of us became aware that an unusual mind was being brought to bear upon problems of state when we read the statements attached to his repeal of the Lusk Laws and the pardons of Larkin and Gitlow. This was again manifest in his answer to the Marshall letter on the relations of the Roman church to the government. Now these studies of his career make it plain that Smith has a character as unusual as his mind. They also demonstrate that both are still growing, that the man who has come so far since the Fourth Ward, the Fulton Market and Tammany Hall, with no library but life, is a force yet to be reckoned with in our public affairs, no matter what the outcome of the next election.

It is the mixture of elements in this man that makes his story fascinating to the student of human nature. A native intelligence of unusual clarity and penetration, joined with a depth of feeling for folks and their needs that puts him intuitively on their side in issues like housing, labor legislation, civil liberties and water power! A salty speech that rips the marrow out of issues and strips all humbug from persons, coupled with a capacity for grim silence! An histrionic assertiveness linked with genuine humility. An uncanny capacity for practical politics, made efficient by Tammany training, that yet refuses to use state office for party or personal advantage. A tremendous power of concentrated work uniquely allied with the gift of relaxation and good-fellowship! A winning way for team work that has enlisted time and again the cooperation of the best personalities of the other party and thousands of its votes; and then, when needed in his own party, a relentless exercise of authority. Surely the family tradition that there is here some other strain mixed with the Irish is justified.

Both these studies[1] stress the fact that Al Smith is the first expression in high office of the immigrant, tenement neighborhood. After all he has not left the city streets; they are working in him, Irish and Jew, German and Italian, Russian and Pole. Also in his little circle of advisers there is represented the settlement, social worker movement, and that is why the Tammany politician with his misapplied but genuine feeling for the people is able to become the effective champion of social legislation. Herein he differs from Big Bill of Chicago who also represents immigrant groups with a grievance. But the still deeper difference is that Thompson is a charlatan while Smith is honest and political honesty is a rare variety. For evidence read why he signed the Mullan Gage act and how he defied party, friends and future rather than run with Hearst. If his biographers are right, he will not be a "political dry." If they are wrong, then it is—Curtain!

Both these volumes paint the warts in the picture. I have no space to do it, except for one that Pringle did not intend when he assured the guardians of the social traditions of the White House—who have so many votes—that the tastes Al has been acquiring during the last few years are those that go with private cars, yachts and large suites of rooms in the best hotels. Big enough for the Presidency? What a question after Harding and Coolidge! Anyhow the answer is that he and Hughes—the biggest man the Republicans have got—think and work together in state issues, while Smith knows and handles people as Hughes never did or could. It will be a vicious campaign and it will settle neither the wet and dry nor the religious tolerance issue. But perhaps it will clear our blood of the festering war-bred hates.

If you like your biography vivid and impressionistic you will take Pringle. If you prefer it conventional and documented, you will get Hapgood and Moskowitz. If you can afford it you will buy both. In any case, remembering that these are campaign documents for which, because its candidate is a big enough human, neither the Democratic party nor its angels have to pay, those who a few years ago received gratuitously a publication called "Have Faith in Massachusetts," will doubtless give thanks that they now have something to read. What will thereafter happen to your vote depends upon whether you are a next stepper or whether you are convinced that it takes more than a remarkable personality to change the nature, the control and the ends of political parties in a capitalistic society, as Wilson and his adherents found out.

HARRY F. WARD.

[1] *Alfred E. Smith; A Critical Study*, by Henry F. Pringle. Macy-Masius, N. Y. $3.50.

Up from the City Streets, Alfred E. Smith, by Norman Hapgood and Henry Moskowitz. A Biographical Study in Contemporary Politics. Harcourt, Brace and Company, N. Y. $2.50.

Tons of Facts

THE United States Government runs the largest printing establishment in the country. Its publications contain valuable information on numerous subjects. Recently three studies on wages have appeared. *No. 442* deals with the iron and steel industry, (30c); *No. 443* with woolen industry, (10c); *No. 446* with cotton manufacturing, (10c). Substantial gains in real wages are shown, but the disturbing fact is revealed that in none of these industries does an unskilled worker receive enough in wages to support a family of wife and three children in decency. (Order from the Government Printing Office, Washington.) K. P.

Industry Is Growing

"I MIGHT observe," said Secretary Hoover a short time ago, "that by and large while we have increased our population 16 or 17 per cent. in a dozen years, we have swelled productivity of the Nation by something like 30 or 35 per cent. Our farms produce 13 per cent. more with the same number of farmers as 12 years ago; our railways carry 22 per cent. more traffic with about the same number of men." He might have added that steel workers produce 53 per cent. more per man, cement workers 57 per cent., automobile and tire makers 210 per cent., oil refiners 77 per cent., and others in like proportions. Not only have individual workers become larger producers; their increased efficiency is reflected in declining price levels, larger export surpluses and mounting national income. *Industry's Coming of Age* is a search for an economic interpretation of our accelerating prosperity. Professor R. G. Tugwell, its author, belongs to that group of younger economists who are exploring the functional and institutional basis of our industrial order.

A widespread system of national education, research in personnel problems, "careful pre-planning and increased reliance on paper work," the new attitude of labor toward management, better financial methods, increased capital accumulation—these are some of the thirty-one "causes" of our industrial maturity which Professor Tugwell enumerates and describes in detail. All of them result from the organization and management of industry rather than the intensity of labor drive. "The men are the same. . . . It is the machine and the way it is managed, the materials and the forces, and the manner of their marshalling, which make the difference in our day between efficiency and the lack of it. . . . The industrial revolution has completely denuded the worker of responsibility, just as, also, it has stolen away his skill." And depressions, "weak spots" such as agriculture at present, educational conservatism especially in the realm of social ideas and habits, the low standard of living still the lot of the majority of our workers, all tend to retard the fruition of these causes, create a serious industrial "lag."

How eliminate these falsetto notes in the symphony of our advancing maturity? Three conditions remain to be realized: "the need to socialize industry . . . to make it serve social rather than individual ends; . . . the need to take advantage of good incentives rather than bad ones in the interest of a better moral world; . . . the need for such a growth of industry as will give us the material basis of life which will enable us to function at our best efficiency."

To bring these about, he suggests that "capital allocation and dispersal" and prices need to be controlled by some agency with longer and broader perspectives than are attainable from within industry itself. The Interstate Commerce Commission might serve as the prototype of such a board. And once social objectives have been established—he believes they are developing slowly but perceptibly—the sacred shibboleth of nineteenth century "self-interest economics" may be eliminated not so much by a change of motives in an acquisitive society as by a change in the world itself. "Private selfishness can no longer be erected into a desirable social policy."

Finally, there is an ingredient which may not be neglected in the creation of a desirable maturity. Imagination plays its part in evolving modifications of managerial practice—"and" (quoting the Bulletin of the Taylor Society) "it is these modified managerial practices which constitute the objective data on which a superstructure of science is reared." "The social and political structure must fit the industrial scheme, must be, as it were, an extension of industrial technique."

Perhaps some readers will look for more attention to the influence of capital accumulation, others for a more critical appraisal of "the fight image" in the industrial sphere; both elements are given relatively slight attention by Professor Tugwell. But there is here an extraordinary penetrating (and happily readable) essay toward an understanding of the second industrial "revolution"—an important guidepost on the road to *Erewhon,* which, if we will, can be fashioned out of our coöperations instead of our conflicts. (Published by Harcourt, Brace and Co., $2.)

PHILLIPS BRADLEY.

The Family vs. The Wage System

THE idea of Family Endowment is a stranger to the American public, yet in Great Britain it has been discussed for the past ten years and it has received a limited application not only there but also in Australia and European countries.

The real meat of the matter—both theory and practice—is given in *The Case for Family Endowment,* by M. D. Stokes. How the profit system takes precedence over the wage-system; how the theory of a living wage for a standard family of five would put on the wage-bill in Australia, for example, 450,000 women and 2,100,000 children who do not exist; and how this situation is met by the Family Endowment theory of a basic two-member family with children's allowances where children actually exist—for all this the reader should refer to Miss Stokes's brief and thorough book. It covers variations in theory and practice and treats the significance of the movement for the feminists and their questions of equal rights and equal pay. And it deals with the closely related question of population and birth-control.

Family Endowment tends in practice to be a *rearrangement* of the existing wage-bill, though it *is* a change in the time-honored wage-system. The more radical attempt to gain state regulation of allowances financed by direct taxation to the whole community but limited in its distribution to "working-class parents" has so far failed of adoption. A hybrid proposal stipulates equal payment by the State, the employers, and the wage-earners for a "national contributory insurance."

By some such device as this the public may come to see "the simple logic of securing for the family an income in some degree commensurate with its primary ends." (Published by The Labour Publishing Company, Ltd. London. 1s.)

MARTIN BEARDSLEE.

Immigration Crossroads

WE are indebted to Constantine Panunzio, professor of social economics at Whittier College, for a very able and readable study of immigration from an immigrant's point of view. The book aims to set forth America's significance to the laborer of the Old World, the contributions made by immigrants to the development of the United States, the changes in the attitude of the people of this country toward immigration. Certain aspects of a possible constructive immigration policy and the international phase of the migration movement and our restriction policy are discussed. (*Immigration Crossroads*, by Constantine Panunzio. $2.50. Order from the author, Whittier College, Whittier, Calif.)

AMY BLANCHE GREENE.

Laski on Communism

ANYONE who knows that he does not know about the revolutionary communism of Karl Marx will get both pleasure and profit from Harold J. Laski's *Communism*. What others will get depends—but that is another story. The book is a small one, easy to read, non-technical and clear in its presentation. Moreover, it is unbiased, remarkably so. This quality will likely enough stir some resentment in prejudiced quarters, both anti and pro; but the fair-minded reader, whether he already knows the subject or not, will enjoy the discriminating portrayal and criticism both of Marx's doctrines and of their Russian application.

It has been easy for most of us in this distant part of the world to refuse to think seriously either about Karl Marx or about the widespread movement which he fathered. Mr. Laski here makes clear that we may justifiably reject Marx's doctrines, but that we cannot in wisdom disregard the movement. When any doctrine makes so great a stir in the world, it becomes a fact and factor in history which we must understand if we are to act intelligently with reference to it. In particular must we study the appeal which the doctrines hold and out of which the movement springs. In Mr. Laski's words, "No philosophy ever gains a hold upon the mind of men without being a response to aspirations not otherwise satisfied."

Communism as a revolutionary method and program needs to be distinguished from communism as an ideal—a society without classes. The latter has a long and honorable history as the names of Plato, St. Francis of Assisi, Sir Thomas More and Robert Owen will testify. But with Marx comes a new epoch. To the ideal was now added a program for its attainment, definite and ruthlessly militant. To expound this is Mr. Laski's task.

Four features characterize the Marxian treatment: a philosophy of history, a correlative theory of social evolution to guide the Marxian party, a tactic for action, and an economic theory to justify the program. To Marx all four are indissolubly one.

Marx's philosophy of history unites two prior ideas, the economic interpretation of history with the Hegelian evolution of society, where each successive stage arises as opposition to the preceding in order to correct its defects. History thus had for Marx two significant characteristics, one that it hinged on production and the controllers thereof; and the other that the process of history was fatally deterministic. From these two it followed for him as today for his convinced followers that the class war is inevitably a fact and that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the inevitable outcome. That we may admit a general economic interpretation of history without accepting Marx's prophesies, still less their fatal necessity, should not blind us to the effect that these doctrines have on those who do accept them. Fatalism and fanaticism have been in history almost constant companions.

There is no space here to review the details of Mr. Laski's exposition. All seem good and with the exception of the economic theory all are interesting. In the discussion of the state the most interesting features are the communist criticism of existing democratic governments, the communist attitude towards violence, and communist party discipline. With regard to violence, Trotsky is quoted as saying, "As for us, we were never concerned with the Kantian priestly and vegetarian-Quaker prattle about the 'sacredness of human life' . . . To make the individual sacred we must destroy the social order which crucifies him, and this problem can only be solved by blood and iron." This, of course, is but a brutally frank statement of the ordinary ethics underlying war. It sounds peculiarly atrocious when applied to a cause disreputable in our eyes. Most valuable is the chapter on the strategy of communism, but its net result is, in the judgment of the reviewer, to repel the liberal and openminded from the communist program.

Two things seem to stand out in the end: one that militant communism is psychologically a religion, often heightened to fanaticism by a belief in its fatal inevitability, the other that wherever class war either exists or threatens, a heartless and stupid inhumanity among the more fortunate classes is its main cause. Any supposed fatality such as Marx argued for may be dismissed as baseless, a confused mixture of mistaken logic and history, but actual danger from actual unwisdom and actual inhumanity—this is another matter and calls for anxious thought. For helping us see the situation more clearly our thanks are due to Mr. Laski. (Published by Henry Holt and Co. $1.)

WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK.

Gandhi in the Villages

IF you want meat and drink, here it is. Mahadei Desai, Gandhi's follower and private secretary, has written a book called *Gandhiji in Indian Villages* in which he shows how "sharp as a razor's edge is the way of a leader of the people." The book is printed in India and unfortunately assumes familiarity with certain Eastern terms—a difficulty which might have been easily remedied by footnotes. But for all that the man in action is there to see.

We Americans have forsaken maturity. It is at once too conservative and too revolutionary to suit our temper. We distrust life. The simplicity and compelling implications of peace and dignity; the profound concentration on an inclusive, specific *selection* of means and ends; the momentum of ethical *qualities;* the marriage between passion and intelligence, with children begotten unmatched for realism and purity—where are these everyday trade-marks of maturity?

In these respects Gandhi at least is unmistakable. He is both technical *and* spiritual. He aims at "love which discriminates." He is peaceful and dignified. He is far-seeing and relevant. He knows ways and means. He has momentum. Concerning the people of a certain village who had run away while the police were looting their houses and molesting their womenfolk he said, "I expected them to intercept the mightiest power that might be in the act of harming those who were under their protection, and draw without retaliation all harm upon their own heads even to the point of death." Such is Gandhi. Read and resolve. (Published by S. Ganesan; Triplicane, Madras, S.E. 1927. (Rs. 2.)

MARTIN BEARDSLEE.

Riding a Tiger

THE Western imperialist powers are in the position of a man who is riding a tiger. They do not want to stay on and they dare not get off. This is *The White Man's Dilemma,*[1] about which Nathaniel Peffer writes so searchingly.

Mr. Peffer knows his East. Few Occidentals sense as keenly as he does the extent of the revolt of the colored races against

[1] Published by John Day Co., $2.50.

white domination. The fighting male of the West, to use Benjamin Kidd's expressive phrase, is now up against the real thing. He must give up control of alien territories or fight—and fight not with a few gunboats and small contingents of marines but with huge armies. To maintain territorial control of the East will involve not a summer skirmish or two but many bloody decades of fighting on an extended scale.

Will armed coercion pay? The system may put exorbitant profits in the hands of a few traders and investors but ultimately it will cost the taxpayers of the respective countries many dollars for every one they get in return—and sooner or later will shed oceans of blood.

Mr. Peffer is frankly cynical about the influence of religion and idealism. So much so that he ignores "the moral aspects of imperialism," and deals only with the dollars and cents of it all. He sadly concludes that imperialists are motivated only by the lure of profits and that nothing will deter them except the loss of money. One does not need to share his cynicism to admit that history affords much evidence as a basis for his conclusion.

After tracing the sordid record of imperialistic exploitation almost to the point of nauseating his readers, Mr. Peffer reaches the melancholy conclusion that the Western powers will make no concessions except those extracted by force or threats of violence. He thinks that the cost of giving up vast resources of raw materials and strategic trade routes is too heavy to be paid voluntarily by selfish imperialists. They are likely to gamble on the chance of retaining control. After them the deluge.

Mr. Peffer's main thesis is that the white man had better get out while the getting is good, or else he will be thrown out. Not in the sense of completely withdrawing from these regions but of voluntarily relinquishing control.

The author of this volume is free to admit the physical blessings that have frequently followed in the train of imperialists. He likewise admits the inability of many of the so-called backward peoples to govern themselves efficiently or to develop their resources. He goes so far as to contend that many of them would undoubtedly be better off materially if foreign domination should be perpetuated. But—and this is the all-important point—they will not knuckle under to the white man much longer. By one means or another they mean to get free. And they will. It is merely a question of time. The only doubtful point is concerning the kind of weapons which will be required.

It is probably too much to hope that the secretaries of state and foreign ministers will read and digest the contents of this terribly disturbing book. The official mind often appears impervious. Of diplomatists as a class it has been said that they never learn anything and never forget anything.

What do intelligent citizens of Western nations propose to do about this life and death question? K. P.

Sciosophy

THE Higher Foolishness, by David Starr Jordan, has to do largely with what Dr. Jordan calls "sciosophy," or "wishful thinking." "Sciosophy" is not mere illiteracy; it is, Dr. Jordan explains, "systematized ignorance." It is an active, not a passive principle. It is as old as history and as varied as human nature. There are two kinds of sciosophy, one which looks back and finds its inspiration in the past and one which looks forward and "needs no basis anywhere." The first variety is illustrated by the story of the savants who consulted the works of Aristotle and the other classical authorities to find out how many teeth a horse has. A young radical shocked the assemblage by proposing that they inspect the actual mouth of an actual horse. When he had been dealt with according to his deserts, they proceeded to resolve, in the words of Lord Bacon, that the teeth of the horse must remain "an everlasting mystery, because of a grievous dearth of historical and theological evidence thereof, and so ordered the same writ down." Whether this has bearing upon the differences between the fundamentalists and the moderns is left for us to decide. But the sciosophic method has its advantages. It avoids laboratory work, which is "at the best a little Victorian and old-fashioned" and gets there quickly instead of waiting a generation or two. Dr. Jordan's irony is delightful. (Published by Bobbs Merrill. $2.50.) A. A. S.

Peace or War?

IN no way could a reviewer improve on the characterization of *Peace or War?,* Lt. Commander J. M. Kenworthy's new book, given by H. G. Wells in his introduction: "I do not think it would be easy to better Commander Kenworthy's summary of the complex of forces that make for war in the world today." Indeed, in a reading that has missed few books on war and peace issued since the Armistice, I recall no such detailed, concrete, almost encyclopedic presentation of the war-making factors of our present-day world. Its tremendous sweep of fact, leaving scarcely a section of the earth untouched or a vital problem unstated, is not immediately apparent, so brightly written is it, so journalistic in its vivid movement.

No one, I think, can rightly call Kenworthy a chronic pessimist. He sees only what everybody must see who is neither preoccupied by personal trivialities nor wedded to one or another of the pet old-line schemes for peace currently put forward. Of these he is critical, because he sees their comparative ineffectiveness.

Well, then, what is Commander Kenworthy's specific? As you may have suspected, it is the outlawry of war. And outlawry after the Levinson-Borah-C. C. Morrison formula—a formula of which, I hasten to state, I for the most part heartily approve. But Kenworthy's handling of outlawry is simply terrible. In the first place, he is not critical of that project at all; for example, he fails adequately to point out the weakness in its allowance of "defensive" war. And when it comes to telling the reader what outlawry really is, it all fades out as quickly as a problem moving picture. No wonder Englishmen damn outlawry by calling it a sweet-sounding word! Anyone who had never read the plan as set forth by Levinson and interpreted by such writers as John Dewey, John Haynes Holmes, or Charles Clayton Morrison, would naturally conclude that Wells needs no qualification when he declares Kenworthy "has been in windy unsubstantial company where phrases and good feeling count for more than effective action."

All the same there are, I believe, an increasing number of people who will agree with Wells when he says, after outlining how many things must be done before war can be bowed out of our national households forever, "In the meantime the most effective resistance to the approach of another great war lies in the expressed determination *now* of as many people as possible that they will have nothing to do with it, that they will not fight in it, work for it, nor pay taxes when it comes—whatever sort of war it is." —(Published by Boni and Liveright. $2.50.) D. A.

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What the Employer Thinks, by J. David Houser. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1927. 5½ x 8. 226 pages. $2.50. A study of attitudes of American employers toward their workers which shows their slight sense of social responsibility with their general desire to be "fair." Good suggestions for the executive who wishes to improve human relations in his concern.

Dynamic Faith, edited by David R. Porter. New York: Association Press. 1927. 98 pages. 5 x 7¾. $1.25. A collection of stimulating papers written primarily for students by men who have had wide experience in the Student Christian Movement, and "are all within calling distance of their own student days." They deal with such questions as the forces of life, are they friendly or otherwise; who is God and what is his disposition; was Jesus right, or did he and the millions who have followed him live under some vast illusion?

Creative Personality, A Study in Philosophical Reconciliation, by Ralph Tyler Flewelling. New York: Macmillan. 1926. 3½ x 7½. 320 pages. $2.50. A readable exposition in non-technical language of the form of idealism known as personalism. The book, therefore, supports the principle that the clue to the interpretation of reality is to be sought "in the highest and most complex expression of individuality, the moral and religious person." It concentrates attention on the ethical and religious values rather than on the metaphysical problem.

Congaree Sketches. By E. C. L. Adams. Introduction by Paul Green, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The University of North Carolina Press, 1927. 5 x 7. 116 pages. $2. Fifty-four folk tales, sketches of Negroes in the swamp regions of South Carolina. Imaginative, humorous, poetic, with a subtle philosophy of life lacking only the optimistic thread to make it complete; to be read as "folk lore." A word list at the end translates the dialect.

The British Coal Dilemma, by Isador Lubin and Helen Everett. Institute of Economics, Carnegie Corporation of New York, New York: Macmillan Co. 1927. 370 pages. $2.50. The specialist or technician or research worker can pronounce economic heresy and get away with it. Here is a good example even though in the search for the "roots of the malady" every root is found except profits.

Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets. Edited by Roger N. Baldwin. New York: Vanguard Press. 1927. 4½ x 7¼. 307 pages. 50 cents. A selection of Kropotkin's best with a discriminating biographical introduction. The great philosophical anarchist is still enormously alive.

The Basic Facts of Economics, by Louis F. Post. Washington: Author's Edition. 1927. 4½ x 7¼. 103 pages. 50 cents. This little volume is sub-titled "A Common-Sense Primer for Advanced Students." It presents the bare fundamentals of economics: production, distribution, etc., with clarity and understanding.

Empire Settlement, by John A. R. Marriott. New York: Oxford University Press. 1927 5 x 7½. 136 pages. $1. The British Isles since the War have hung out the S. R. O. sign. The Empire Settlement Act of 1922 tried to guide the overflow into the Dominions. Sir John Marriott with much pertinent information discusses the problems involved. It's one of *The World's Manuals.*

The Great Bear, by Lester Cohen. New York: Boni and Liveright. 1927. 357 pages. 5¼ x 7¾. $2.50. Not a novel for people who take three lumps in their coffee or dilute their reading to fifteen minutes a day.

The Pathway of Peace, by Robert McElroy. New York: Macmillan, 1927. 5¼ x 7¾. 192 pages. $2.25. A series of lectures on some British-American crises by a former Princeton professor now at Oxford.

The Famine in Soviet Russia, 1919-1923, by H. H. Fisher. New York: Macmillan, 1927. 5½ x 8. 609 pages. $5.00. An analysis of the causes of the famine, the protracted negotiations to forestall it and the work of the American Relief Association in Russia.

More Than Wife, by Margaret Widdemer. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1927. 5¼ x 7¾. 310 pages. $2.00. Career or husband? Which should come first? This problem of the modern woman furnishes the theme for this interesting novel.

The Worker Looks at Government, by Arthur W. Calhoun. New York: International Publishers, 1927. 5½ x 7¾. 176 pages. $1.60. A highly critical analysis of the structure and functions of government by a Brookwood College professor.

Racial Origins of English Character, by R. N. Bradley. London: Allen and Unwin, 1926. 5 x 7½. 192 pages. 6s. A diverting book which tries to explain English character on the basis of race—for which it deserves at least three question marks. In doing so it gives a most devastating, withal humorous, portrayal of the "great race," the Nordics—for which it deserves to be listed here.

Where and How to Sell Manuscripts, by William B. McCourtie. Springfield, Mass.: The Home Correspondence School, 1927. 8x5¼. 482 pages. $3.50. And **The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book, 1927, edited by Agnes Herbert. London: A. & C. Black, Ltd. 7½x5. 244 pages.** Not entirely complete, accurate, or up-to-date, but in general serviceable and handy references to addresses and needs of magazines and publishers.

Trader Horn, Being the Life and Works of Alfred Aloysius Horn, taken down and edited by Ethelreda Lewis. 1927. New York: Simon and Schuster, distributed by the Literary Guild. 6 x 9. 302 Pages. $4. A valuable contribution to Africana. Ivory trading, gorilla-hunting, the ways of elephants, true flashes of native lore and custom and history.

Daughter of the Revolution, by John Reed. New York: Vanguard Press. 1927. 134 Pages. 4 x 7¼. $.50. Absolutely ineligible to membership in the D. A. R. Episodes caught on the fly enlarged into short-stories showing, as Floyd Dell says, "the stages by which the vagabond and Bohemian defiance" of the author deepened into revolutionary passion.

An American Pilgrimage, Portions of the Letters of Grace Scribner, selected and arranged by Winifred L. Chappell, with a foreword by Harry F. Ward. New York: Vanguard Press. 1927. 4½ x 7. 89 pages. $.50. The story of a rare life, beginning in a lumber camp and ending in a far-reaching service to the religion of humanity.

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Youth Still Safe

"OUR Foreign Policy, What Is It?" was the theme of a three-day student conference held recently at the University of Illinois. Over two hundred people attended the conference, practically all university students.

Some older persons were disturbed over the corruption of youth by questions about war as a method of settling international disputes and by realistic analysis of our foreign policies. Such persons who wondered what influences there were on the campus to counteract these liberal influences of certain Christian organizations may have found comfort in some of the campus news items that appeared during the conference. On Sunday morning, December 4, at 6 A. M., Scabbard and Blade was to initiate twenty-six men into their fraternity. On the same day we read that all R. O. T. C. cadet officers registered in the advanced course were urged to sign the army pay roll at the Armory. This pay roll, we are told, is to cover the months of September, October, November, and December and amounts to a total of $13,816.80. The September pay roll, we learn, was for the months of July and August, for which regular remuneration is paid these cadet officers.

Just so long as the University of Illinois R. O. T. C. can keep its present staff of twenty-six army officers on the campus representing the War Department our good friends who fear the corruption of youth by questions about war and our foreign policy without any counteracting influence on the campus ought to feel some security.

CHESTER A. GRAHAM.

Champaign, Ill.

Add to Peace Gains

YOUR editorial enthusiasm over Norman Thomas' "Recent Gains in the Quest for Peace" does indeed get my vote. Yet I am not quite sure that in enumerating the specific American programs, Mr. Thomas has not overlooked the one which to my mind is the most telling of all. I mean the proposal of the Women's Peace Union to make war illegal, as far as the U. S. is concerned, without more talk and ado, by a prohibition on Congress to declare, engage in or carry on war, or to raise, appropriate or expend funds for any armed conflict. In brief they call on the conscript fathers to abolish tomorrow our army, navy and air forces in *toto!*

How many WORLD TOMORROW readers have taken in the fact that one Senator—Lynn J. Frazier—actually was madly sane enough to introduce such a measure in the Senate on April 23, 1926 (S. J. Resolution No. 100), and that on January 22 last, the Judiciary Committee listened for several hours to discussion of Frazier's resolution and to an unblushing airing of the extreme peace position in a hearing said by Senator Gillett, who presided, to be one of the "most admirably arranged and efficiently managed" he had ever attended?

It is quite possible that Mr. Thomas did intend to lump in the Women's Peace Union idea with "disarmament" plans in general. But somehow I rather doubt it. To ask Congress to scrap the admirals overnight does sound so fantastic that not many people (though Mr. Thomas ought to be one who could) can see how perfectly realistic it is. Besides this New Abolition the W. P. U. is after will not "lump" with the other "disarmament" and "out-

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lawry" plans. As I understand it, excellent as these all are, they take into account the action of the other fellow. They must; they are mutual schemes. But this one is all concerned with ourselves—direct action in the finest sense. It plucks the beam right out of our own eye, and trusts to all the rest to follow.

Apropos of the Congressional action and discussion this winter of which Mr. Thomas speaks, watch out for more spectacular things from 39 Pearl Street (office of the Women's Peace Union). On December 9th of 1927 their resolution was re-introduced into the Senate by Senator Frazier. It is called S. J. Number 1. (What a title for a Peace Resolution!) Undoubtedly there will be another "admirable and efficient" hearing. And in preparation for it I understand the W. P. U. can very neatly use a little help!

Frances Witherspoon.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

We Chide—Belatedly

THERE is, of course, much happy inspiration to glorious abandon in your comment upon Dr. Luccock's article in a recent issue of The World Tomorrow as well as in the essay itself. . . . Your vigorous enthusiasm for peace would more happily stir me with the same spirit if you less frequently failed to be impressed by the weaknesses of the chaps whose ideas you particularly value. It is not Dr. Luccock's nonsensical discussion alone—calling for New Testament's battling by the church while doing nothing in that free and unafraid spirit as an example—but you entirely forgot in your own editorial, "Peace at any price," to chide the Denver gathering which howled down United States Senator Fess last September because an opening sentence of his address on a phase of peace did not please the pacifist gathering sufficiently. "Shall we yield to pressure and intimidation?" you sadly inquire. Well, Senator Fess had to sit down.

Frederick R. Barkhurst.

Kansas City Journal-Post.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Paris Congress Center

FOUR international congresses will meet in Paris next July —the world congress of social workers, international housing congress, international child welfare congress, and an international congress on statuatory and voluntary assistance. This is the first meeting of the social workers and it is expected that among the 40 delegates 20 countries will be represented.

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The Last Page

Report on the State of the Nation

1. Will Rogers has been getting called down for trying to be funny over the radio by giving an imitation of President Coolidge. They say Rogers went too far. I agree. I never did believe in painting the lily.

2. I note that scientists are testing the brains of all members of Congress. Just a waste of time. Congress is made up almost entirely of lawyers. One-fourth of the Senate are millionaires. Who cares, then, about the question of brains?

3. New York City's Department of Welfare heard about the wonderful prosperity of the country as revealed by Messrs. Coolidge, Hoover and Mellon; and then came across the heretical fact that the city's free bed emporiums have been overcrowded as not before for six years. Homeless and unemployed people seek shelter which is not sufficiently provided, even when all beds and all floor space are taken. Suspicious in the extreme, lest some of these people are sleeping on the floor just out of a desire to live on the fat of the land at the public expense, the authorities are conducting an investigation. No investigation is contemplated, however, of Messrs. Coolidge, Hoover and Mellon.

4. Prospective immigrants, it is now made public, are often asked significant questions by psychologists. One query is: "How many feathers has a goose more than a duck?" Likely as not, many a person suspected of intelligence will lack courage to make the only correct reply: "I knew about ducks, but this is the first time I ever heard that psychologists *had* feathers."

* * * * *

Chapters from the Comic History of My Life

Pretentious autobiographies are being written all the time; but the cosmic trivialities are too often overlooked. Many a life, like mine, has never touched the throne of royalty, but has won salute from life's court jester. I propose for a time to enrich posterity with a wealth of insignificance.

Prior to my arrival on this self-important earth, my brother had been teasing either for a baby brother or a goat. I have been as much one as the other.

There is the case of Casey, the nearby grocer. On the day when my mother led me by the hand forth from his place of business, indignation in her stride, I took his part. She had asked for oranges. "We have no oranges," hopefully answered Mr. Casey, "but we have some nice, swate lemons."

To my infantile ear it seemed a fair and kindly gesture. And I harbored a certain filial infidelity in my bosom.

I lost it soon. On the theory that legs strong enough to propel a tricycle along city sidewalks at perilous speed were capable of fetching necessities from Casey's, my mother sent me for an extra quart of milk. In her haste she neglected bottle, pail, or other container. Arrived at Casey's I proudly stated my desires and displayed money. That last was a false move. Discovering that I bore no suitable container and taking no chances either of losing a bottle or a sale, Mr. Casey grew inventive. Seizing two paper bags, he placed one inside the other and very cautiously filled it with lacteal content. "Now, me boy," he adminished, "take this and hurry like the divil." I did, but never a devil came home so wretched in appearance or in spirit.

Twenty-eight years passed by before I had a chance at Casey's store again. In that sentimental adoration with which we always cherish old grudges I looked around for Casey; but he had gone, no one knew where or when. I wonder if they ran him out of town! Or is he, maybe, in a high official place somewhere?

* * * * *

Then there was Claire. For a young lady of nine she was singularly unsophisticated, but yet she had allure. At the age of eight and three-quarters, going on nine, one doesn't push in boldly. He might watch surreptitiously across the schoolyard, and might even follow her homeward from a discreet distance in the rear; but one shrinks from frank avowals, especially if you don't know what on earth it is you would avow.

I might have been following Claire till now, if there hadn't come that awful kissing party. It was my first. I didn't think much of it. I thought less of it when I saw Joe Stanley there. Joe had one day exercised the initiatory prerogatives of an upperclassman—there were two grades in our one disgraceful schoolroom—yanking me out of my seat by the ankles, after which, for the crime of sitting with involuntary force upon the floor, that person they called the teacher made me stand up in front for an hour. I don't know whether all of them were amused; but Claire had snickered and Joe had laughed out loud without a reprimand.

And now Joe sat by Claire. But when it came to drop-the-pillow, I ventured to take part, urged on inexorably by a power I could neither fathom nor resist. Before her loveliness I cast the pillow when my turn came, and not unwillingly, I thought in a delightful terror, she knelt as I did. We leaned. . . .

She kissed the back of Joe Stanley's outstretched hand; I kissed its rather sticky palm. There was a shout. Claire rose in haste, not angry, but I shall always think, a trifle wistful. As for myself, what could a fellow do? Joe was two years the older; and about his torture was a cleverness, a finality, toward which even a successful violence could not seem other than grotesquely inappropriate. Destroyed, abased, with gall injected in my blood, I slunk away to follow Claire no more.

Not, that is, for a year. That year I spent in the whole-hearted and, I feel, distinctly profitable, reading of Diamond Dick, Young Wild West, the Liberty Boys of '76 and the exploits of Fred Fearnot. Now I am one of the few people in the world who do not think they have been psychoanalyzed, so I have no explanation. But I know that as a fact, in one year from my degradation, I was spending many an afternoon playing house on Claire's front porch, and when Joe Stanley came within my sight, he hastened to find cover from a shower of well-directed cobblestones. It was about that time I decided to join the army as soon as I was able.

Let your psychoanalyst explain the fact that in the last war I escaped Leavenworth because of bad eyes; eyes injured, I understand, by a too-early, intensive devotion to—literature.

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